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# NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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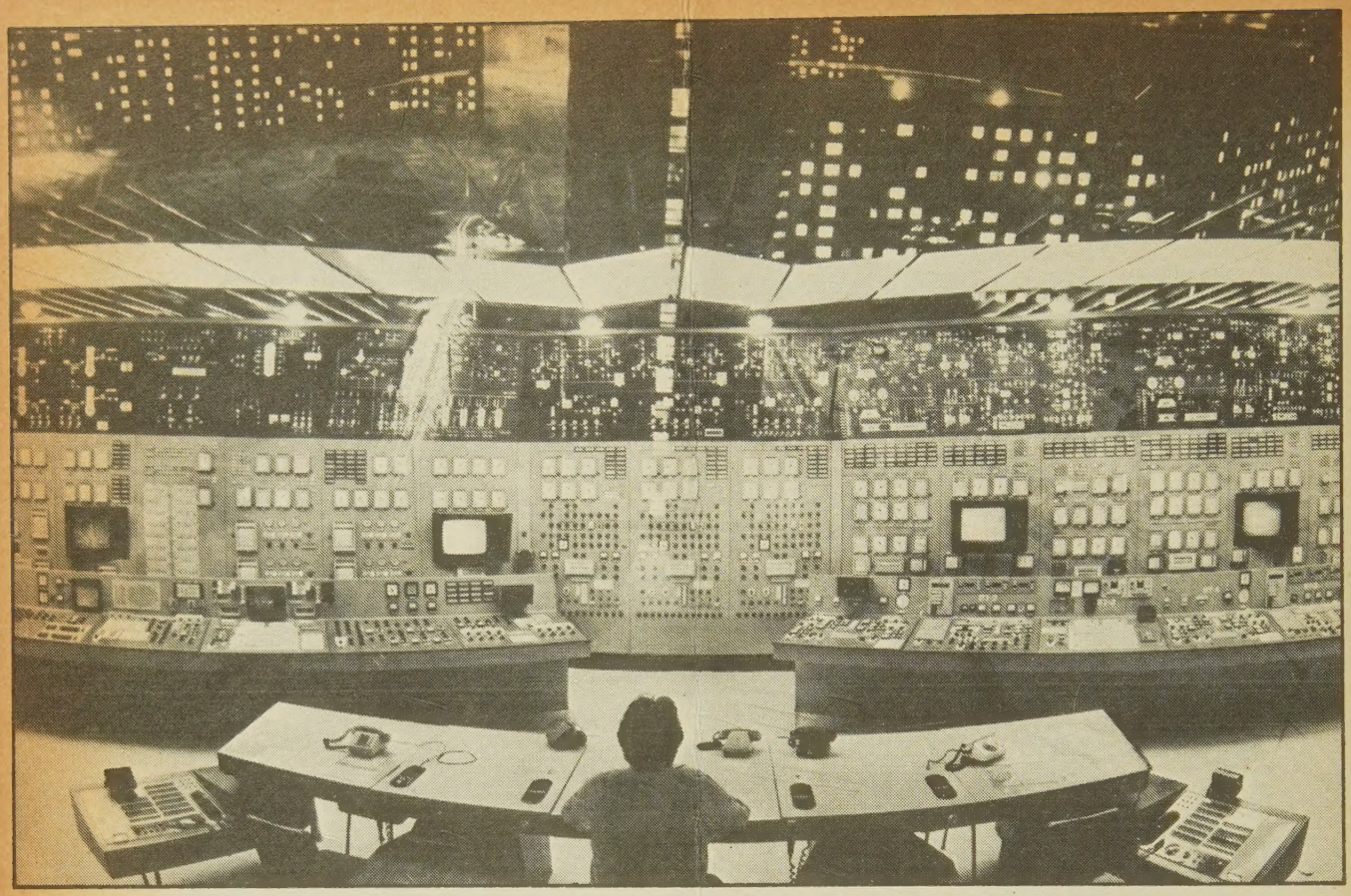
GORBACHEV: PEACE HAS TO BE WON

THE HEROIC LIFE OF THAELMANN

CHILE: VICTIMS AND THE MURDERER

## THE FIRST MAN IN SPACE

## 12.4.1961



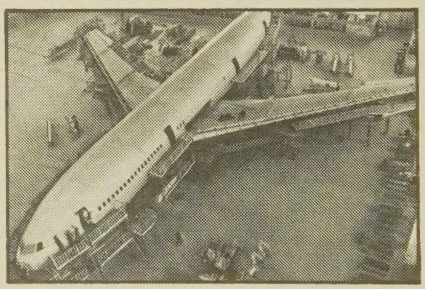
## Voronezh — 400 Years

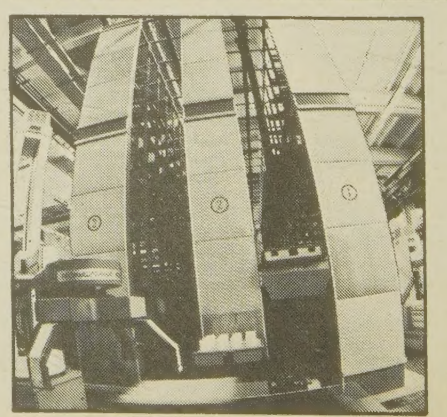
It is a distance of about 600 km from Moscow to Voronezh—an overnight journey by train. The city has gone down in history as the cradle of the Russian fleet. It was here in 1695 that on Peter the Great's orders the building was started of a flotilla whose ships first opened the outlet for Russia to the Black Sea.

Today Voronezh is one of the biggest industrial cities of the Russian Federation. Wide-fuselage airplanes — the IL-86 aerobuses, industrial robots, fourth-generation computers, video tape recorders, automobile tyres and TV sets are produced here. Articles bearing the trademarks of Voronezh factories and plants are known in 60 different countries of the world besides our own.

Voronezh has changed beyond recognition in the years of Soviet power. In 1914 only one in 15 peasants in the region could read and write. Today more than 60,000 students are acquiring some 107 specialities in the city's University and 12 higher schools and colleges. Students from 82 foreign countries are trained here. The Voronezh Region has given our country many outstanding figures in the sphere of literature, the arts and sciences. The names of the surgeon Nikolai Burdenko, the soil scientist Konstantin Glinka, the poet Alexei Koltsov are associated with Voronezh. The melodiousness of Koltsov's verses has inspired many prominent Russian composers to write some beautiful songs. Mitrofan Pyatnitsky, the well-known collector of folk songs, organized the choir of Voronezh peasants which later developed into the State Russian Folk Choir.

The people of Voronezh look with optimism to the future. Their city is growing rapidly, new attractive housing developments are springing up around the city.





**Top to bottom: Novovoronezh nuclear power station; an IL-86 aerobus; get-together at the city international club; a corner of the Elektronika works.**

TASS photos

# QUO VADIS?

The United States' actions in the international arena cannot but bring to mind this classical question which the Polish writer Henryk Sienkiewicz chose for the title of his well-known novel. Indeed, what is the U.S Administration driving at? What is the meaning of its attempts to whip up confrontation? How is one to assess its provocative eruptions of bellicose rhetoric and the explosions of nuclear devices in Nevada? What is the object of and specifically whose interests are served by the U.S. moves against Nicaragua, Afghanistan and Angola, the pirate operations against Libya, the intrusion of U.S. warships into Soviet waters off Swallow's Nest in the Crimea, the unlawful insistence on the reduction of the personnel of the Soviet United Nations missions, and many other things characteristic of Washington's present behaviour in the international arena?

Whither America?—this question is asked with anxiety by millions. Their disquiet is understandable. The nations do not want to witness the burial of the hope that was engendered by the Geneva summit. Yet this is precisely what the U.S. is bent on doing. The anti-Geneva syndrome is increasingly asserting itself there, not only creating difficulties in Soviet-American relations, but darkening the international horizons in general. For even if the weight carried by the Soviet Union and the United States and the role they play in world affairs are great, there are scores of countries and peoples in the world that are living and want to live in peace and security, to realize their plans for the future. They all have a vital interest in clear vistas ahead and a cloudless sky.

But for all that, owing to objective circumstances, the role and hence the responsibility of the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. for the state of affairs in the world are particularly great. Realizing this, the Soviet leadership is demonstrating in deeds its determination to be equal to that responsibility. It tirelessly urges the U.S. President, Administration and Congress to search for avenues to the normalization of Soviet-American relations and their constructive development. Regrettably, however, we are not meeting with understanding in Washington. Moscow's calls for a constructive dialogue and its unilateral initiatives are said to be nothing but propaganda. They are smeared and enveloped in a malicious web of evasions, inventions, and reservations. For instance, the Soviet Union's perfectly clear proposal for the holding of a Soviet-American summit without delay with a view to ending nuclear explosions and concluding an agreement banning them was promptly labelled an attempt to find a substitute for the meeting of the leaders of the two countries agreed in Geneva. But the Soviet side had nothing of the kind in mind.

What it wants is the transition from words to deeds at the earliest possible date, a practical start towards a goal Washington too would seem to be in agreement with—stage-by-stage progress towards the reduction and eventually the total elimination of nuclear arsenals. The proposed meeting, needless to say, would not exclude other meetings. Soviet-American agreement on the termination of nuclear explosions would be of great political and moral significance as an instance of joint action by the two great powers.

During his brief meeting in the White House with the Soviet schoolgirl Katya Lycheva, Ronald Reagan said he wanted peace and was ready to work for it. One would not care to question the sincerity of these words. But how do they tally with the facts? What kind of peace does the President want, and on what terms? A peace resting on mountains of nuclear warheads is a fragile peace. The road to true security is altogether different—the road from the arms race to disarmament. There is no other way.

Newsweek wrote recently: "According to one senior aide, there are also 'two Ronald Reagans.' 'One,' he says, 'is this tough anti-communist . . . the Reagan of lie, cheat and steal and the evil empire. The other Reagan is the one who is willing to go the last mile to see if we can work something out. And you never know which one is going to show up at the issues lunch.' "

Unpredictability of judgements and actions is not the most commendable trait in any politician. Even more regrettable is it in the leader of a great power, our main partner in negotiations on issues on the solution of which the future of civilization to a great extent depends. The Soviet side is doing its utmost to make things easier for the American leadership. The Soviet Union is ready to negotiate on an equal footing, without detriment to anyone, on any problem and expects the United States to display equal readiness. Speaking in Togliatti, Mikhail Gorbachev said: "We are for preserving the impulses of Paris and Geneva. And we will not allow ourselves to be provoked, we will not add fuel to the rekindling of the cold war. One must not play with politics in the nuclear age."

## FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ I fully agree with the arguments put forward on The Editor's Page of issue No. 4. In this nuclear age of ours safeguarding peace must be our foremost priority. Everyone, irrespective of political convictions, race or his country's social system, must contribute to this. It is common knowledge that if used for peaceful ends atomic energy can offer the key to the most difficult problems that face mankind. On the other hand, if this energy is used for purposes of destruction it can eliminate all life on earth. The spread of the arms race to outer space, to say nothing of its continuation on earth, may have irreversible consequences. This is another argument in support of each one of us giving thought to the imperatives of our times. It is my wish that no one should ever reproach himself with having failed to do his duty to himself, mankind and the generations to come.

**Alfredo NANNI**
Monzuno, Italy

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◆ I was most interested in the talk with Henri Alleg entitled "SOS America!" which appeared in your issue No. 7, 1986. I am a 55-year-old American workingman of modest means, but I wish I could get his book. As a New York resident of 33 years' standing I can vouch for the accuracy and honesty of this hard-hitting French writer who tells it as it is. You have done a real service by printing this article.

**Donald SAWTELL**
New York, U.S.A.

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◆ I regret the disappearance of Panorama which, until quite recently, was a regular feature in your magazine. It kept readers up to date with the latest developments in the form of brief news items. The Monthly Review column you have started as an experiment in your Russian edition hardly fills the gap. This may not be a proper comparison but I'd like to remind you that the newer and more up-to-date a commodity, the better it is. This applies to information, too. I am not altogether happy about your new Panorama either. Some of the items are not analytical enough. Instead of merely reproducing newspaper reports, as you sometimes do in this section, a magazine like yours should carry articles and comments which give the reader deeper insight into current events.

**O. VASILKOVSKY**
Minsk, U.S.S.R.


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## A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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**A quarter of a century after Yuri Gagarin's historic flight, the Soviet Union is successfully continuing peaceful space research and making every effort to prevent outer space from becoming an arena of military confrontation.** **[See p. 18.]**

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# MIKHAIL GORBACHEV'S ANSWERS to Questions from the Algerian Magazine Révolution Africaine

Révolution Africaine, a weekly of the National Liberation Front of Algeria, asked General Secretary of the CPSU Mikhail Gorbachev to answer a number of questions and grant an interview to its chief editor Zoubir M. Souissi. The interview took place on March 31, with CPSU Central Committee secretary Alexander Yakovlev attending.

Below we publish Mikhail Gorbachev's answers and his conversation with the Algerian journalist.

**Question:** The CPSU has just experienced a turning point in its history. Its 27th Congress was a congress of innovation and bold strategy as regards both the Party and the development of the economy and Soviet society. Could you, please, tell us what were the reasons for this?

**Answer:** Well, we have, perhaps, grounds to agree with your estimate of the 27th Congress. It indeed has historic significance for the Soviet Communists, for it has set a grand objective—a new quality of life for Soviet socialist society. So we are experiencing what is indeed a turning point in the country's life.

But there must be clarity here. It seems nobody now, save career anti-Sovieteers, denies our achievements. I believe the readers of your magazine know the road we have traversed — from a backward, ravaged country to an advanced power both in the socio-political and economic respects.

Our revolution has had many enemies, too many. I have in mind not only the imperialist predators who did all they could to throw us back to the semi-colonial past. I have in mind also mass illiteracy, poverty and centuries of oppression. But it is the lot of all truly people's revolutions always to encounter the resistance of the forces of the old world. You know this from the experience of your own country.

Our people had to undergo terrible ordeals. It is enough to mention the nazi invasion which took a toll of millions upon millions of lives, and left our cities and villages in ruins. But the Soviet people overcame this by heroic effort. The country was veritably reborn in just a few years.

Today we have a mighty industrial potential, and our national economy is steadily on the upgrade. In the last quarter-century alone, fixed assets have gone up sevenfold. Our industry has been progressing at double the rate of the industrialized capitalist states. The living standards of the Soviet people have risen substantially. Real per capita income has grown 2.6 times over in the past quarter-century.

I know that the West likes to talk about a so-called Soviet lag in modern science and technology. I believe that the outstanding discoveries and accomplishments of Soviet science and engineering in the most diverse spheres are more eloquent than any denial. It is enough to recall the first Earth's satellite and Yuri Gagarin's flight which ushered in the space era, and the success of the recent Venus-Halley's comet project. In this unique piece of research are combined the achievements of Soviet physics and machine building, mathematics and instrument engineering, other branches of science and technology, and the professional skill of the working class.

But I do not propose to engage in idle polemics with people who would even run themselves down if they were well paid for it. I happen to know that in all fields of knowledge we have highly qualified personnel, excellent production workers. Incidentally, our engineers, technicians, workers and doctors have been working in Algeria for many years now and, as far as I know, working well. Their Algerian colleagues consider such cooperation most valuable.

Of course, we may be asked why the 27th Party Congress has planned deep-going changes if the development of Soviet society in the past decades was successful. The point is that, while giving credit to what has been done, we want to move forward faster, on a new qualitative basis. The creative potentialities of socialism are such that we can now tackle bigger and more complicated tasks than before. Resting on one's laurels runs counter to the very nature of the Communist Party, the nature of socialist society and our ethic.

That is why not only our achievements, but also our mistakes and oversights were openly and honestly discussed at the 27th Congress. To some extent we had been reassured by the potentialities for development which, so to speak, lie on the surface. The development of the economy was largely extensive, with more and more manpower and material resources being involved in production. The structure of economic management remained unchanged for decades, although the development of the productive forces dictated the need to remodel production relations. This explains the decline in the rates of growth, and the insufficiently energetic application of the latest scientific and technical achievements in the economy.

Forthright discussion of shortcomings was essential. The aim was to mobilize to the utmost the advantages of the socialist mode of production with its inherent capability for continuous renewal and perfection. I'd like to cite here the words of Karl Marx who, speaking of the revolutions of the 19th century, said that they "criticize themselves constantly... come back to the apparently accomplished in order to begin it afresh, deride with unmerciful thoroughness the inadequacies, weaknesses and paltrinesses of their first attempts...." A powerful statement, indeed.

So, in brief, at the congress we realistically assessed our own potentialities and saw that we could do better. This is primarily what prompted the need to speed up the country's socio-economic development.

As for the international aspects of the acceleration strategy, I'd like to stress the following points. Socialism is not developing on some isolated island. The two social systems—socialist and capitalist—are competing with each other. This competition—and we want it to be peaceful and only peaceful—in itself obliges us to speed up socio-economic development. Socialism has no right to lag behind. Considering the resources at our disposal, and this means not just the production and scientific and technological potential, but, above all, people who love their country and are ready to do everything for its prosperity, the Party had every reason to opt confidently for accelerated development of the country.

**Question:** One gets the impression that among the problems dealt with at your congress, questions relating to the economy and social advance of the U.S.S.R. are your main concerns. The strategic avenues of development have been tailored to the acceleration process you have launched. What are the main directions, means and goals of the new policy?

**Answer:** I've already answered this question to a certain extent. But, it seems, I must stress once again: the economy and, of course, social policy are the main concerns of the Communist Party as the ruling party.

As for the acceleration strategy, it covers all aspects of society's life: the economy, science and technology, the social sphere and the intellectual life of society. In some cases its influence is direct, and in others it is not.

We have undertaken to rebuild our national economy on the basis of the latest achievements of scientific and technological progress, and are creating the best possible conditions for the development of science—both fundamental and applied. We are changing structural and investment policies to ensure accelerated growth of machine building and other priority industries. I'd like to stress here that these are not intentions or wishes, but an integral part of what we are doing now.

Another important link in our economic strategy is radical economic reforms, the restructuring of the economic mechanism. Its substance is to ensure a harmonious blend of the advantages of centralized planning with a greater independence and higher responsibility of production amalgamations and enterprises. The direction of the effort is obvious — to subordinate all our production to the requirements of society, to orient management on raising efficiency and quality. In a word, the task is to ensure the dynamic work of the entire national economy and its operation like a self-regulating mechanism.

For us the acceleration strategy also implies development of the political system, a system of socialist democracy in which all power belongs to the people. We see our task in promoting the socialist self-government by the people, in the fullest possible involvement of the working people in administering the affairs of state and society. In essence, broad democracy creates that indispensable climate in which the creative potentialities of both society and the individual reveal themselves to the full. And it begins with intra-Party democracy, with a free and open discussion of all problems that concern society, as was the case in the pre-congress debates and at the 27th Congress itself.

It goes without saying that socialist democracy cannot be exhaustively discussed in a relatively brief answer. One ought to dwell here at length also on our government and public institutions, on how the Soviets of People's Deputies, with their millions of activists, organize their work. But now I'd like to draw your attention to the following. Strong emphasis was placed at the congress on the question of publicity in the activity of government, Party and other public organizations. We believe that there cannot be more or less when it comes to truth. There is only one truth and it must be the whole truth.

We speak openly about everything because we believe in our strength and we know not only what to do, but also how to do it. I'd like to note that the prestige of the Party only grows when it sets the right tasks and heeds well the voice of the working people, when it knows their opinion and is not afraid to admit its mistakes.

And, of course, at the heart of the acceleration strategy is a strong and integral social policy. Production does not exist for itself. It exists for the people. It cannot be otherwise under socialism where there is no private property, and all enterprises belong to the people and operate to meet their needs. After all, there are no moneybags in our country who would subordinate production to their own interests.

I'd like to add that when we restructure secondary and higher education, seek to improve health care, launch the construction of more sanatoriums, holiday homes, cultural centres and sports complexes, all this in the final analysis boils down to creating the proper material conditions for the harmonious development of the individual, for the creative endeavour of people, endeavour that not only adds to the wealth of society, but contributes to the spiritual enrichment of man.

**Question:** You advocate new approaches to the organization of production and to evaluation of the labour factor in order to make both more effective. But this involves the changing of habits and views. How is the CPSU preparing to meet this new situation?

**Answer:** An interesting question, though, I believe, the 27th Congress resolutions have already furnished the necessary answer.

As for organization of work, our orientation here is on the introduction of cost accounting, on making all enterprises in town and countryside profitable and able to pay their way, on making wide use of economic incentives and proper use of commodity-money relations, on encouragement of socialist enterprise, and on the establishment of direct ties between producers and consumers.

When we began management experiments in the economy — and these are now expanding — we saw that the very first steps yielded handsome returns. The gain is twofold: it benefits society, which gets more of the high quality products it needs, and it benefits the work collective which has the right to spend a large portion of what it has earned as it sees fit.

As for the evaluation of work, of the labour contribution made by every person, we are guided by the well-known Marxist formula: "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work." That is social justice, with every person getting as many of the good things of life as his work entitles him to.

You mentioned in your question the changing of habits and views, and want to know how the CPSU is going to handle this new situation.

We have declared war on conservatism, red tape, mismanagement, indiscipline and inertness in everything. I think the Party's activities after the April 1985 plenary meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and during preparations for the 27th Party Congress, as well as the proceedings of the congress, suggest that our policy is meeting with understanding among Communists and the masses of the working people and has their vigorous support. But, of course, there is a lot to be done yet, and executives and all working people—workers, farmers and intellectuals—must adapt themselves to the new approaches.

**Question:** You do not conceal that you have financial difficulties in pursuing objectives relating to the process of acceleration of the social and economic development of the U.S.S.R. How do you propose to obtain the funds needed to achieve this new qualitative stage if international relations remain unfavourable to the cause of peace and cooperation?

**Answer:** There is something amiss here. We do not complain of our financial situation, though we do not have money to spare. The more so since, owing to the provocative imperialist policies, we have to divert part of our resources to strengthening the defence capability of our country. And this we will continue to do: the peaceful labour of the Soviet people and our friends and allies will be safeguarded as reliably as before.

As for the funds required to finance the accelerated social and economic development of the country, we have them. It is to internal accumulation that we mainly look to obtain them. This is the only sure way. We know, if anybody does, that imperialism has introduced into present-day international economic relations such uncivilized methods as various forms of discrimination, sanctions, economic blockades, embargoes, trade bans, and so on.

Our material potential will be sufficient to fulfil our plans. Our policy of technical retooling and modernization of existing enterprises not only involves expense, but simultaneously produces additional resources. It is obvious, and need not be proved that society develops and makes headway on the basis of growing productivity of labour and increased efficiency of production. A great deal will come from the accelerated circulation of funds. I am not mentioning the use of energy-saving technologies, radical improvement of capital construction, and so on.

Unquestionably, in the interests of development, we are also using our broad economic ties with other countries. This is a normal thing. But, I repeat, we do not make our plans dependent on the intentions of other states in relation to our country, although, of course, we have always firmly advocated broad international business ties.

**Question:** The competition in the military field with the West, and especially the "star wars" scheme, are undoubtedly a major obstacle to your economic and social plans. But the Geneva summit and your statement of January 15, 1986, should have opened up the prospect of more peaceful and auspicious progress of all mankind. What can be expected of your coming meeting with the head of the U.S. Administration?

**Answer:** Very well, let us go back to the Geneva summit. We took a serious view of it. On its eve we made some concrete proposals. I will recapitulate them.

On August 6 of last year the Soviet Union introduced a half-year unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. We proposed that Washington follow our example to make the moratorium permanent, **eternal.** In reply we received an invitation to another nuclear test in Nevada.

Before the new year of 1986, which the U.N. has proclaimed the International Year of Peace, we announced that we were extending the moratorium on nuclear explosions by another three months. American nuclear explosions were the answer.

Lastly, not so long ago, in response to an appeal by the leaders of six countries, we decided to observe the moratorium until the first nuclear explosion from the American side. And immediately the Pentagon rushed to conduct more nuclear tests. We will have to draw conclusions from that. Other peace-loving countries and world public opinion will also draw them, I do not doubt. It is particularly clear today who is who in world politics. Militarism, whose ideology dominates in the leading imperialist countries, has exposed itself to the utmost.

Now about our proposals of January 15 of this year. I will not repeat their content. That is well known. It is more than an invitation to a serious dialogue. We set forth an integral and honest programme on how to make the world safer to live in, to rid it of nuclear weapons, to prevent an arms race in space, and appreciably reduce conventional armaments.

The U.S. pondered for a long time, more than a month. I have already spoken about the American reply. We heard neither a clear "yes" nor constructive ideas from the Administration on how to overcome the evil logic of the arms race.

More, let us take the initiative on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe, which in some respects is in line with previous American views on this problem — even this one is ignored. We have discovered — and this is true not just of Geneva but of other meetings — that as soon as we take a step forward to meet the American position, the U.S. takes a step back.

Is it possible to improve Soviet-American relations without finding practical solutions to the problem of ending the arms race? Is it possible

to move towards trust while at the same time stocking arsenals with ever more sophisticated weapons of war? We are convinced that a different road leads to peace, the road from the arms race to disarmament.

For this it is necessary to discard the old way of thinking where a postulate of the ancient Roman legionnaires—"if you wish for peace, prepare for war"—is even today considered by imperialist leaders applicable to international relations.

The summit meeting half-opened the door to hope. But how this ray of light frightened people associated with the U.S. military-industrial complex! How heavily they pressed against the "door" to slam it shut!

Now I and my comrades in the Party leadership are trying to understand what the U.S. Administration wants. War? But I think Washington must have a good idea of what a nuclear war would be like. Then what is meant by all these attempts to preserve confrontation and, moreover, to whip it up, and what is meant by the latest outburst of bellicose rhetoric? What aims are pursued and what specific interests are served by U.S. actions in Nicaragua, against Libya and Afghanistan, by warships violating the boundaries of the U.S.S.R.'s territorial waters, support for the cave-age regime of apartheid in South Africa, and much else that is today characteristic of U.S. international behaviour?

We also know of calculations to exhaust the Soviet Union through the arms race. These are old and, frankly speaking, stupid calculations. Nothing will come of them, so the Americans are wasting their money and their efforts to give effect to a doctrine that long since met with fiasco.

But these calculations concern not only the Soviet Union. They strike out at the interests of the developing countries and affect the U.S.A.'s own allies. Even the United States itself is sinking ever deeper into the quagmire of internal and external problems engendered by its imperial, militarist policy.

Washington's post-Geneva actions run counter to the agreements reached. The anti-Geneva syndrome is growing there, which, naturally, creates no few obstacles to the development of Soviet-American relations.

**Question:** Peace is not only elimination of nuclear weapons and their non-deployment in space. For many nations, which are still under oppression, it begins with the winning of the fundamental right to national sovereignty. But numerous peoples that for decades have been waging a struggle for the liberation of their countries cannot realize their aspirations owing to lack of more vigorous and consistent support in the international arena. How can you explain the present decline in the national liberation movement in the world?

**Answer:** A bit of history. The last few decades have witnessed the collapse of colonial empires, the rise of anti-colonial revolutions, the revival and emergence of dozens upon dozens of new states. Today the liberated countries make up almost half of humanity and to a large extent determine the nature and course of world developments. I am sure that their role, the role of the non-aligned movement in international affairs, in determining the course to be followed by civilization, will grow. So the results of national liberation movements are of everlasting significance.

The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries declare openly: our sympathies are wholly on the side of the peoples fighting for freedom, national independence and social progress. We have rendered and will continue to render them extensive assistance — political, moral and material. I want to stress that in doing so the Soviet Union does not seek any unilateral benefits for itself — political or economic.

It is also true that, having won political independence and taken their destiny into their own hands, the newly free peoples are forced to wage a hard struggle to overcome their economic backwardness and poverty and to consolidate their sovereignty. The forces of imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, stop at nothing — from economic sabotage and political provocation to direct force — to bring down and crush the liberated countries and to arrest the course of history. A "doctrine of new globalism" has been hastily cooked up to serve as a foundation for this course. Generally speaking, there is nothing new about it; it is an attempt to return to the old and, we might say, classic system of brigandage.

The U.S. piratical actions off the Libyan coast are nothing but the old "gunboat diplomacy." The whole world sees them as such. Evidently, former lessons have been wasted on Washington, which has more than once had to pay for its military ventures. The U.S. anti-Libyan actions are not something singular. What a multitude of fantastic stories U.S. politicians have concocted about the U.S.S.R. and Cuba and to justify the escalation of the military venture against Nicaragua.

The U.S. Administration has taken to its bosom the Afghan dushmans, the UNITA bandits in Angola, and the South African racists. And all this is done allegedly in the name of the ideals of peace and freedom. I do not doubt that, if it were not for American interference in the internal affairs of other states, regional conflicts would be on the wane and would be solved in far simpler and more just ways.

It is extremely important that there is a growing awareness of the intimate relationship between the solution of problems of strengthening international security and ensuring the steady, confident and independent development of the newly free countries.

**Question:** The world economic crisis has spared nobody, especially the Third World countries. The decline in oil prices, the continuing fall in prices of other raw materials, and the shortage of food in the world are all problems that threaten to increase the dependence of Third World countries which are burdened by huge external debts. The U.S.S.R., too, has been affected by some aspects of this crisis. What role can the Soviet Union play in the search for ways to overcome it?

**Answer:** I agree with you. The position of the developing countries is disturbing, and in some cases, even tragic.

What is happening? Keeping these countries in an unequal position, imperialism shifts onto them the consequences of its own economic troubles. Hence the lowest raw material prices for half a century, the drop in the price of oil, and the food shortage. Imperialism battens on the exploitation of the newly free countries. It is largely at their expense that it finances the arms race. The result is, on the one hand, the trillion-dollar debt of the developing countries and, on the other, the superprofits for the transnational corporations and banks.

This imperialist policy is well known in Asian, African and Latin American countries, as indeed all over the world. It is a fact that the developing countries spend over 100 billion dollars a year on interest on their external debts. They pay out more than they receive in new credits. Or take another glaring fact: the American transnational corporations pocket two

and a half dollars in profit for each dollar invested in Latin America. This is cruel bookkeeping, but imperialism knows of no other.

The Soviet Union is far from indifferent to such a state of affairs. For our part, through our external trade, we exercise a stabilizing influence on the markets for many commodities, including those exported by developing countries. The U.S.S.R.'s economic and technical assistance to those countries, which helps to form a national base of science and industry and to modernize agriculture, also works in the same direction. Our credits are repaid with growing exports of the newly free countries, and so there is no drama of indebtedness.

Understandably, developments on world markets affect us to a certain extent too. Crises in the West reduce demand for our exports. Inflation adds to import costs.

What, then, is the cure for the world economy? Together with the developing states, we are for restructuring international economic relations along just and democratic lines. Such a restructuring could begin with the implementation of the major provisions of the programme for a new international economic order. Our concept for the economic security of states is fully consonant with that programme. It provides for the exclusion from international practice of all forms of discrimination, for a just settlement of the debt problem, and for pooling of the efforts of all countries in the solution of global problems, including, of course, the problem of development.

I wish to reiterate: peace and development are inseparable, and in their attainment the basic interests of the socialist and developing countries coincide.

**Question:** There is much in common in our countries' approach to the struggle for the liberation of peoples and for peace. Relations between us were established long ago and it is time to sum them up so as to make an objective assessment of their significance and to chart real paths for their further development. What has the future in store for us in this field?

**Answer:** This was precisely the subject of the meaningful and fruitful talks I had with Chadli Bendjedid, President of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria. I am sure that in these past days the U.S.S.R. and Algeria have shown once again how useful and effective cooperation built on the principles of equality and strict respect for each other's sovereignty can be.

What lies ahead? Under the long-term programme of economic, trade, scientific and technical cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Algeria, Soviet-Algerian economic ties will get a new impetus. The power industry, the iron and steel and nonferrous metals industry, oil and gas, geology, metalworking and engineering, agriculture, water economy, forestry and fisheries — such is a far from complete list of branches in which interesting joint projects are planned.

We are convinced that our cooperation in training national personnel is highly promising. Knowledge, culture and experience are all vital to the present and, even more so, to the future.

The Soviet-Algerian negotiations have shown once again that in the struggle to safeguard peace our countries are not fellow-travellers but real partners. This equally applies to the establishment of a new, just international economic order, to overcoming conflict situations on the basis of strict respect for the rights of every nation to determine its own path to the future.

In brief, we are fully satisfied with the results of the talks and believe that the understandings reached will serve well the interests of the peoples of our countries, the interests of peace and social progress.

* * *

**Mikhail Gorbachev:** How do you do, I'm glad to meet you. It's a special pleasure for me to meet you today right after the visit of the President of your republic, Comrade Chadli Bendjedid, to the Soviet Union. This was a big event in our relations, and, I believe, internationally. It was a major event of truly global significance.

It seems to me that we parted equally convinced that this visit of the President to our country will give a fresh impetus to our relations which are on a high level as it is.

Apparently, you have already read my answers to your questions.

Although I'm almost always short of time, I deemed it my duty to respond to your request, considering the friendly relations between our countries and the fact that your magazine has a broad readership at home, in Africa, and in Europe for that matter.

**Zoubir M. Souissi:** Indeed, our magazine is read in Europe, too.

**Mikhail Gorbachev:** If you want to ask me something in addition to the questions you have given me in written form, I'm at your service.

**Zoubir M. Souissi:** Indeed, I'd like to ask you two questions which were prompted by your Saturday talk on Soviet television.

Here's the first question:

After the U.S.A. refused to respond to the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium, the Americans are now also rejecting your proposal for a meeting in a European capital on the grounds that you have supposedly refused to go to the United States as you promised. How do matters really stand and will the meeting take place in the U.S.A. or elsewhere?

**Mikhail Gorbachev:** In my talk two days ago I did call upon President Reagan to meet in a European capital in the near future, without delay, with the express object of immediately discussing only one issue — cessation of nuclear tests. This meeting was not supposed to replace our meeting in the United States, on which we had agreed in Geneva, and which I didn't even mention this time.

The whole world, not only the Soviet Union, but all peoples, including the Americans, are worried about there being practically no progress in such a major aspect of the war-and-peace issue as the arms race and reduction of nuclear weapons. The talks are going on, but they have not produced results so far.

The Soviet leaders believe that some major move is needed to lead the talks on nuclear arms reductions out of deadlock and thus begin moving towards a goal which, it seemed to us, both we and the Americans accept, notably, stage-by-stage advance to reductions in nuclear weapons with a view to their complete elimination after some time.

When we announced our concrete programme for liquidating nuclear weapons in the statement of January 15, which you know, the President of the United States welcomed what he called a further step by us in this process, and recalled similar statements he made in 1983 and later. In Geneva, too, we agreed that a nuclear war cannot be won and must not be fought.

So, it appears that we are essentially saying one and the same thing. Nevertheless, we are making no headway at the Geneva negotiations so as to begin moving forward to this goal proclaimed by both the Soviet and American sides.

We think that cessation of nuclear explosions and talks to sign an agree-

ment on their prohibition in all media could be a first step in this direction.

Our idea is simple: we are constantly looking for ways and means of beginning the advance along the road of nuclear arms cuts together with the Americans and other nuclear powers, but first of all, with the American Administration.

Conclusion of a treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States to end nuclear explosions would be of tremendous practical importance because it would raise an obstacle to the modernization of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of these weapons. Moreover, such a step would also have enormous political and moral relevance as an example of joint actions by the two great powers which bear a special responsibility.

Although we received a negative statement in response to my new appeal to the President — in effect the U.S. Administration repeated what it said earlier — we hope nonetheless that the President, his immediate entourage and Congress will give more thought to our proposal.

As for my visit to the United States, this question remains in the field of vision of both the Soviet and the American sides. I think this answers your first question.

**Zoubir M. Souissi:** Allow me to proceed to the second question. Is a dialogue still possible between the Soviet Union, which stands for peace, and the U.S. Administration, which is revanchist-minded and uncompromising?

**Mikhail Gorbachev:** The question you ask is not an easy one. But we have now made it a rule and a principle — both in our domestic and in our foreign policies — not to avoid difficult questions or any problems. Proceeding from this I shall answer your question.

I would put the emphasis on the fact that a dialogue between the leadership of the Soviet Union and the U.S. Administration is necessary. It is difficult to expect an improvement in the international situation without normalization of Soviet-American relations, without the joint efforts by the Soviet Union and the U.S. to end the arms race and to abolish nuclear weapons, without normalization of international relations — political, economic, trade and cultural. We have always stressed this. And this testifies to the seriousness of our approach.

For all the weight and role of the Soviet Union and the United States in world affairs, it is essential to reckon with the fact that there are hundreds of states and peoples on our planet and they want to live better and build their plans for the future. Both the Soviet leadership and the U.S. Administration must take this into account.

I think what we said at the 27th Party Congress about our attitude to international affairs, to international cooperation is a convincing argument showing our respectful attitude to all peoples, our understanding of our responsibility for the preservation and strengthening of peace, for the normalization of international relations, not only to our own people, but also to other peoples. So, for all the importance of Soviet-American relations we cannot fail to take this into account.

And still, for objective reasons, the role and consequently the responsibility of the Soviet Union and the United States for the state of affairs in the world is great. We, I repeat, strive to be equal to this responsibility. But things in the world will move more quickly and more confidently along the path of normalization if the same understanding and the same sense of responsibility are displayed by the U.S. Administration. And we invite the President, the U.S. government and Congress to display the political will and search for ways leading to normalization of Soviet-American relations, their development, for ways of improving the situation as a whole.

Our assessment is as follows: there is now an uneasy period in these relations. But we do not regard them with despondency and for our part are trying to do everything in our power, by agreeing to certain real, practical steps, to create a favourable atmosphere for improving relations and for political dialogue.

**Zoubir M. Souissi:** I thank you for the high honour accorded our magazine, for the possibility to convey through it your message of peace to the Algerian people, to all freedom-loving and peace-loving peoples. Peace is now the most important thing.

**Mikhail Gorbachev:** We are sure of that. Those who followed the work of our congress, who have read its documents know that it was precisely this that we wanted to bring to the whole world — a message of peace from the Soviet people to the entire world. But peace has to be worked for. "If you want peace, work for it."

Please convey through your magazine my best wishes to the friendly people of Algeria and to all readers of your magazine. ■

**BULGARIA**

# KEYNOTE: ACCELERATION

This is a special year in the life of the socialist community. It is a year of congresses of the ruling Communist and Workers' parties. The recent, 13th Congress of the Communistt Party of Bulgaria was a major event in the life of Bulgaria and indeed of all the fraternal socialist countries.

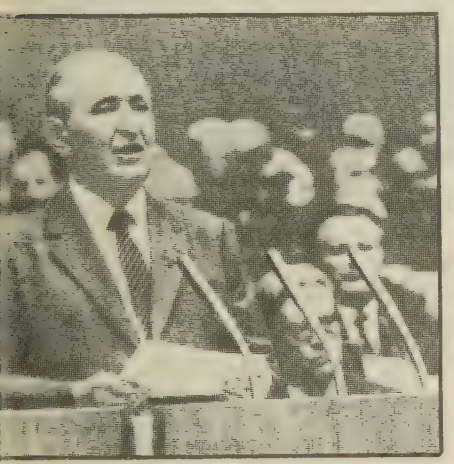
The Bulgarian Communists assessed the results of the work done by the Party and the nation as a whole over the five-year period since the 12th Congress, and defined their immediate goals in the building of advanced socialism. They underlined the fundamental importance of the decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU for the accelerated economic and political development of the socialist world system in general and Bulgaria in particular.

Socialist Bulgaria had a positive record of achievement to report to its congress. The targets set by the previous congress had basically been attained. "To generalize," stated BCP General Secretary Todor Zhivkov, "it may be said that the past period was a fruitful one despite difficulties caused not only by the complexity of the problems we had to face, but by our mistakes and shortcomings as well."

As can be seen from the Central Committee report to the congress, over the past 30 years the national income

has increased eightfold, the value of fixed assets tenfold, and the volume of industrial output 14-fold. Labour productivity showed a 740 per cent increase. Industry has undergone profound structural changes. Vital industries like metallurgy, mechanical engineering, chemicals and power engineering are developing at an accelerated rate. Electronics, microelectronics and robotics also made dynamic progress. The situation in agriculture can be judged from the following figures: the average annual grain output has grown from 4.1 million tons in 1953-57 to 8.4 million tons in 1981-85. Over the past three decades real per capita incomes have increased 4.4 times, and public consumption funds have grown 14 times over. In short, the Bulgarian Communists have much to be proud of.

At the same time, the congress admitted that certain factors which had in the past been conducive to Bulgaria's progress had exhausted themselves. Practical experience shows that the present, decisive stage of building developed socialism calls for new solutions to the country's pressing problems, and a resolute elimination of the shortcomings that impede further advance. The shortcomings mentioned at the congress included the remoteness of certain research projects from practical requirements, an insufficiently rapid rise in technological and quality standards, inadequate utilization of material and energy resources, and a slow rate of industrial modernization.



**General Secretary Todor Zhivkov addressing the congress.**

Sofia-Press Agency photo

The congress decisions are aimed at remedying these and other shortcomings, making full use of the advantages and potentials of the socialist system, speeding socio-economic progress, revolutionizing the economy, management and other spheres, and significantly increasing labour productivity. "In the last analysis, productivity of labour is the most important, the principal thing for the victory of the new social system," Lenin wrote. At the present stage of socialist construction Lenin's words assume special importance for Bulgaria and the rest of the socialist community.

Discussing scientific and technological progress, Todor Zhivkov stressed that to advance to the forefront of modern science and technology was a matter of considerable urgency for Bulgaria. "It is no longer enough merely to recognize the importance of modern scientific and technological progress," he said. "Far-reaching changes are needed. Figuratively speaking, we must climb aboard the scientific and technical revolution." Rapid advance requires not only the utilization of internal reserves. The formula now is: scientific and technological progress plus closer all-round cooperation with the U.S.S.R. This policy has been unanimously approved by the congress and welcomed by the Bulgarian people.

The idea of acceleration is reflected in the theses on the country's social, economic and cultural development in the ninth five-year period (1986-90) and up to the year 2000 which were endorsed by the congress. In 1990 the national income is to be 22-25 per cent up on the 1985 figure. This increase is to be achieved through higher labour productivity. Industrial output is to grow by 25-30 per cent, and farm produce, by 6-8 per cent. Economic progress will help resolve a number of social problems: specifically, it will bring higher wages, more consumer goods and services, higher-quality health care and more housing.

The documents adopted by the congress attach great importance to the improvement of style and methods of management. They point to the inadmissibility of any distortion of economic information. "Instead of concealing weaknesses and shortcomings and their causes, we must overcome and eradicate them and increase efficiency throughout the economy," Todor Zhivkov stressed.

In the modern world practically no country can be wholly self-sufficient and hence certain items have to be imported. This fully applies to Bulgaria. But to be able to buy, the country has to sell high-quality products able to compete on the world markets. It was pointed out at the congress that some Bulgarian products intended for sale on foreign markets were not competitive enough. In this connection the congress stressed the need to give state enterprises a freer hand in making decisions on planning, production, marketing policy, research and development. At the same time, they have to keep up with home and foreign market requirements as regards the quantity and quality of output.

Bulgaria has always attached much importance to its participation in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and socialist economic integration. In the period 1981-85 its trade turnover with other CMEA member states grew by 49.8 per cent. Bulgaria does 78 per cent of its foreign trade with these states (56.3 per cent with the U.S.S.R.). It follows from the congress documents that Bulgaria intends to continue the policy of integration with the other CMEA countries, take part in new, advanced forms of bilateral and multilateral cooperation such as direct links between industrial plants and between research institutions, and the formation of joint economic, research and production, and other organizations.

Many speakers at the congress emphasized the need for still broader Soviet-Bulgarian ties. These ties, Nikolai Ryzhkov, head of the CPSU delegation, told the congress, directly involve millions of working people in Bulgaria and the Soviet Union. Herein lies the efficacy of cooperation between the two fraternal countries which are deeply and selflessly interested in one another's all-round progress. "The better Bulgaria, the Soviet Union and each fraternal country is doing, the stronger the entire socialist community," Nikolai Ryzhkov stressed. "Our joint success is a result of the efforts made by all our parties and nations. This is the dialectics of our cooperation and the enormous advantage inherent in socialism. Our common objective is to make full use of this advantage."

The congress also gave considerable attention to topical international issues. The Bulgarian Communists voiced their strong support for the peace proposals put forward at the 27th CPSU Congress. Safeguarding peace and saving civilization continues to be the paramount objective, the speakers at the congress pointed out. Bulgaria intends to go on promoting security in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the planet.

People's Bulgaria is confidently getting down to the implementation of the new creative plans with a view to making the country a still more developed socialist state as it enters the 21st century. In carrying out these plans, Bulgaria can count on the solidarity and support of the other fraternal socialist countries.

L. MIRONOV

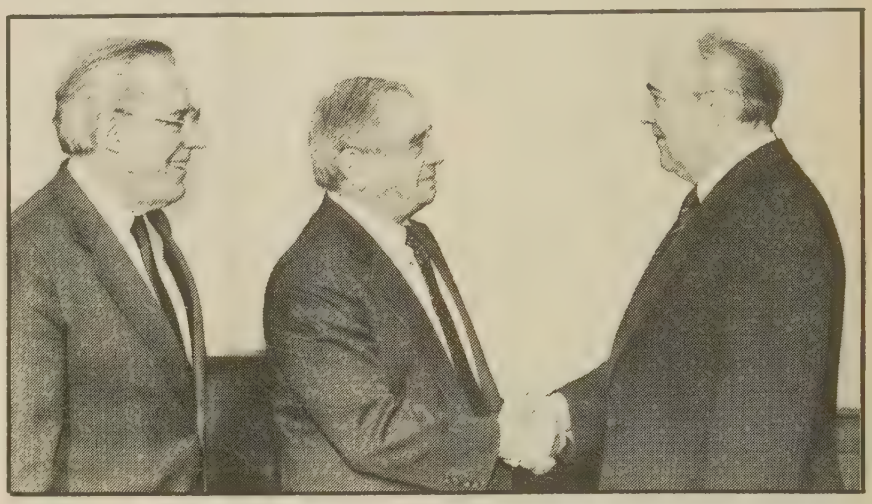
U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.

# IN THE NAME OF THE SPIRIT OF GENEVA

Many Americans—ordinary people and politicians alike—wish to understand the Soviet leadership's views on the key problems of our day, and learn more about the Soviet people and their attitudes and plans for the future. For all the divergency of approach between the two countries and the cardinal differences in their social systems, Soviet-American links, meetings, contacts and cooperation are of vital importance, especially today when the need for new thinking in world politics is so acute. This was the view unambiguously put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev during his talk with Dante Fascell, Chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, and Congressman William Broomfield, who visited the Soviet Union at the invitation of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet's Foreign Affairs Commissions.

Today it no longer suffices merely to satisfy ourselves of our sincere desire for peace and our readiness to take any concrete action to stop the arms race and remove the danger of a nuclear holocaust. Congress must play a more effective role in U.S. foreign and military policy, and prevent the Pentagon intervening unchecked in various parts of the world. Acts like the armed provocation against Libya and the hostile anti-Cuban campaign not only run counter to common morality and international law, but are questionable in terms of America's own legislation.

In the course of the meeting, Mikhail Gorbachev and the American legislators discussed a wide range of issues associated with Soviet-American relations, including, of course, the question of the forthcoming summit.



**American Congressmen meet Mikhail Gorbachev in the Kremlin.**

TASS photo

As Dante Fascell told newsmen after the meeting, his conclusion was that the Soviet side was not insisting on any preconditions with respect to the new summit. However, the summit must bring substantial results. In this Mr Fascell was right. As to the results, they call for no small effort on each side. What matters most is that the summit should enable people to live in a more secure world.

Dante Fascell stressed that the talks had proceeded in an excellent atmosphere and that he had become convinced of the sincerity of what he had heard concerning the U.S.S.R.'s desire for international détente and cooperation with the U.S. No one in Washington should doubt our sincerity.

**B. SERGEYEV**

# FIRM SUPPORT FOR MOZAMBIQUE

Mozambique is one of those countries which are experiencing all the consequences of the crisis situation in southern Africa, a situation brought about by the Pretoria regime acting in conjunction with the U.S. and its allies. Prompted by their narrow selfish interests, the racists and the imperialists are doing everything in their power to prevent Mozambique from advancing along its chosen path of progressive development. They are waging a veritable war against the Mozambican people, sending armed bands of mercenaries and renegades against them.

The difficulties the people of Mozambique have to contend with in the building of the new life were discussed during the March-April visit to Moscow of Samora Moises Machel, chairman of the FRELIMO Party and President of Mozambique. At his meeting with CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, Samora Machel expressed his profound gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people for the disinterested assistance rendered his country. He also had talks with Soviet Premier Nikolai Ryzhkov and other Soviet leaders, in the course of which, as the joint communiqué notes, it was reaffirmed that the policy of strengthening relations of close cooperation between the two countries in diverse fields, and particularly in the matter of strengthening the defence capability of Mozambique, remains unchanged. Mikhail Gorbachev assured the President that in their just struggle the people of Mozambique could rely as before on the firm support of the Soviet people.

The friendly Soviet-Mozambican meetings and talks at summit level are added proof of the fidelity of the U.S.S.R. to the Leninist policy of solidarity with the forces of national and social liberation.

**L. SKURATOV**

F.R.G.

# THAT SDI DEAL

At the end of March, as a "present" for Easter, citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany received an agreement on the participation of West German firms in the Strategic Defence Initiative, signed in Washington by Federal Minister of Economics Martin Bangemann and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger. The F.R.G. has become the third West European country, after Britain and Italy, to be hitched to Washington's "star wars" wagon.

The details of the agreement, finely worded and tightly wrapped in propaganda clichés, remain secret. At an impromptu press conference at the airport on his return from the United States, Martin Bangemann said that the agreement was of a purely civilian nature.

This is difficult to believe, however. Why, in that case, the thick smoke screen? Why was the agreement signed on the American side by the Secretary of Defence? Incidentally, the implementation of the agreement in the Federal Republic, Franz Josef Strauss blurted out the other day, will be handled by the Defence Minister, and not by the Federal Minister of Economics, "who has no competence whatever in this matter." If the matter concerned the use of new technology for civilian purposes, it should be directed by the Economics Minister jointly with Minister of Research and Technology Heinz Riesenhuber. But the latter has openly admitted that "from the standpoint of policy in the field of research no arguments can be adduced in favour of SDI."

The reaction of West German businessmen to the conclusion of the deal with the United States is quite restrained, though one would think they should have acclaimed it with enthusiasm, for it is they who are promised multibillion-dollar orders. However, neither Karlheinz Kaske, president of Siemens, nor Otto Wolff von Amerongen, president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce, displayed the predicted enthusiasm in their comments on the agreement. This is understandable, because the prospective large orders are not to come soon, and in any case it is hardly likely that American companies will be prepared to share them. Moreover, possible losses may prove real, and larger than illusory profits. Let me explain.

On the pretext of preventing the leakage of "top-secret Western technology," says Newsweek, a clause allowing Washington to control West German exports to socialist countries has, at Pentagon's insistence, been written into the agreement. From now on the shipment of all cargoes to the East will be delayed until American experts have given the green light. And there is little doubt that they will certainly hold up the traffic of goods increasingly frequently. One might recall the recent past in this connection.

For this reason, large and advantageous contracts concluded by West German firms with their partners in socialist countries may and most likely will be scrapped. Simultaneously, Washington has threatened to raise customs tariffs on goods imported by the United States. The consequences of such measures may prove deplorable, since the West German economy is largely geared to export and, in fact, depends on it.

The question has another, no less ugly face. The above-mentioned clause of the agreement provides for tougher "security measures" in the F.R.G.'s trade with the East even if this requires "a modification of internal laws." The fact that the Kohl cabinet is prepared to put up with such an infringement on national sovereignty, Newsweek believes, involves a major political risk.

This is hard to dispute. Firstly, it is doubtful that such meek allegiance to the senior American partner will be approved by many even in the ruling coalition, let alone the opposition and broad sections of the public. It may be recalled that parliamentary elections are to be held in under a year, and the Chancellor's chances of reelection may drop sharply.

Secondly, what remains of the federal government's numerous assurances of its dedication to peace and détente after consenting to take part in the militarization of outer space? Bonn likes to talk about peace negotiations, cooperation and broader contacts with socialist countries. Moreover, the federal government, as its official spokesman has recently confirmed, regards dialogue with East European states as an important component of its foreign and security policy. But agreements like the one concluded in Washington, Hildegard Hamm-Brücher, a Bundestag deputy from the Free Democratic Party, believes, "may have a serious adverse influence on the dialogue in the field of disarmament and the overall climate in East-West relations."

Under present circumstances, Moscow said in a note to the West German Foreign Ministry, the Soviet Union cannot but draw appropriate conclusions of a political and defence character from Bonn's decision to participate in "star wars."

**N. ALEXANDROV**

UGANDA

# FIGHTING ENDED

After twenty years of persistent armed clashes and successive coups, fighting has finally ended in Uganda. The National Resistance Army (NRA) has captured Arua, the last city in the north of the country to have been held by troops of the regime overthrown last January. These troops now control only two small population centres on the border with Sudan. Yoweri Museveni, President of Uganda and head of the new supreme body of power, the National Resistance Council, has declared the long civil war over.

Victory was made possible by the fact that, unlike the Military Council, whose demoralized troops left a devastated wasteland behind on their retreat, Yoweri Museveni maintains strict discipline in his army and permits no violence to the civilian population. The army's code of conduct provides for daily political instruction and correction of errors through open criticism at regular meetings. The code forbids NRA troops to insult citizens, and bans any manifestations of tribalism. Even in the northern provinces inhabit-

ed by the Acholi—the tribe to which Tito and Basilio Okello, the heads of the overthrown Military Council, belong—most people welcome the NRA.

The end of the fratricidal war has made it possible for the country to give itself wholly to peaceful work. Yoweri Museveni has said that national reconciliation is the new government's priority. "The main task ... is to unite the entire population and install a government for the people, unlike past regimes which were destabilizing the nation." This is a no easy commitment: tribal strife, mistrust and disunity, which go back many years, still make themselves felt.

The restructuring of the state machinery has begun as part of the effort to solve this complicated problem. Sworn in on February 1, the National Resistance Council now comprises nearly 100 representatives from all 33 administrative districts. It functions as a parliament and will remain such until general elections are held. It regards removing all causes of intertribal conflict as its main function today.

Of no less importance is economic reconstruction which Uganda's new leadership is now beginning to tackle. Yoweri Museveni has said that his administration will achieve results if it controls its spending, suppresses corruption and deals effectively with coffee smuggling. (Coffee accounts for about 90 per cent of Uganda's foreign currency earnings.) The national restoration programme worked out by the government is to be implemented. Its major objectives are to raise agricultural output, build roads and consolidate the national currency.

**N. RESHETNYAK**

U.S.S.R.—U.S.A.

# KATYA'S GOODWILL MISSION

Katya Lycheva's peace and friendship tour of the United States is over. Those were unforgettable days. The message of goodwill and optimism the little Soviet schoolgirl brought with her took the upper hand over prejudice and distrust. Throughout her stay an unusually warm note crept into the comments of some of the most hard-bitten TV writers and the reports of the mass media. Katya's visit was the focus of attention.

Joint lessons in American school classrooms, Katya's stories about Soviet children, how they live, how they study, exchange of addresses and souvenirs, visits to the favourite haunts of American children—all this is only a small part of the programme of the Soviet schoolgirl who was in the United States with a delegation from the Soviet Peace Committee on the invitation of the Children as the Peacemakers organization.

Many were the impressions on both sides in these days. But what impressed the youngsters most? I put this question to Star Rowe, the American schoolgirl who escorted Katya throughout her tour. What struck even this young San Franciscan most was that so many Americans thought Soviet children were quite different from American children. "But our trip showed them that we can make friends with Soviet children and that there's nothing unusual about it."

That sentiment strengthened in the course of the delegation's tour of U.S. cities. This was confirmed by the resolution adopted by the pupils of the Washington school Katya visited stressing the readiness of the American children to work harder together for peace. And also by the words addressed to Katya in Houston, where this girl from Lenin Avenue of Moscow was made an honorary citizen. "What Katya is doing for friendship between Soviet and American children is very important," said Eleanor Tinsley, member of the Houston municipal council. "We residents of Houston and the whole of Texas state are therefore happy and proud to receive this little emissary of peace from the Soviet Union. Children of different countries ought to meet more often so as to get to know one another better and to make friends. After all, the future of our earth depends on them."

I telephoned Los Angeles, where Katya's tour ended, and spoke to Patricia Montandon, the leader of the Children as the Peacemakers organization.

"What was the general reaction to the message of peace Katya brought from the Soviet children, indeed from the whole Soviet people?" I asked her.

"Very favourable," she replied. "That trip has helped to improve relations. The children gave Katya a truly warm welcome in contrast to the cool atmosphere we observe in the relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. at government level. The Americans could see for themselves that Soviet children are exactly like their own. I believe one of the main results is that we showed the youngsters that adults do listen to them. Children have a right to a say when it comes to their future, and we gave them a chance to speak their minds."

That is exactly what Katya, with the disarming candour of a child, told the American President. "Not long ago," she said, "the Soviet Union suggested doing away with all nuclear weapons on earth by the end of the century. That would be by the time I grow up. That's the way I want it to be. I want

**Katya Lycheva with New York schoolchildren.**

TASS photo

all children in the world to be happy." The White House did not publicize this remark.

Notwithstanding some threats levelled at the Moscow schoolgirl (there are some people in the U.S. who do not want the peoples of the two countries to cease distrusting one another), the trip was a success—a major contribution to the important cause of expanding mutual understanding between American and Soviet children, between adults, who are responsible for the future of the rising generation. And in spite of all the obstacles these contacts will continue.

**A. ARKHIPOV**
**Our Own Correspondent**

New York

**New Times reporter Vladimir Galin interviewed Katya Lycheva on her return to Moscow.**

"It was a very interesting trip," she said. "American children are just like ours. We even play the same games only they are called differently. It was an important trip too. After all, I was a sort of envoy for all of our children. All people, adults and children, ought to live in peace and be kind to one another. Even in fairy tales good always conquers evil.

"We were given a warm welcome everywhere. 'Welcome Katerina,' they said. But there were others who did not want us to be in the U.S. Why, I wonder? I went there to strengthen friendship between people, between our two countries, didn't I? That's what I told President Reagan and all the other adult Americans I met.

"I'll soon be seeing my school chums again. I missed them very much. I'll tell them all about the children I met in America, about how we sang songs with the California schoolchildren around the camp fire, just like at home, how we danced and recited verses. I shall show them the book Samantha Smith wrote. Her mother Jane Smith gave it to me. I brought back huge envelopes full of the addresses of my new American friends who want to correspond with Soviet children.

"Before leaving the U.S. someone asked me: 'What can friendship do?' 'Everything!' I replied. And I am surer of this than ever now."

## THE OIL MARKET

# OPEC FACES CHALLENGE

The world oil price is continuing to fall. In early April the spot price dropped to $10-12 per barrel. (At the beginning of December last year the official price was $28.) This was the reaction of the capitalist market to the failure of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries at its late March extraordinary conference in Geneva to agree on reducing the overall volume of extraction to balance supply with demand. The conference was adjourned until April 15.

Saudi Minister of Petroleum and Mineral Resources Sheikh Ahmed Zaki Yamani warned that the price could go down to $8, and his United Arab Emirates counterpart Mana Said al-Oteiba said that it could drop as low as $5 unless Britain and Norway join in countermeasures.

According to the Algerian el Moudjahid, the 13 OPEC countries have lost $10 billion in the last three months as a result of the falling prices, and the British Financial Times estimates that their losses could run to $50 billion this year (a more than 30 per cent drop in earnings as compared with 1985). And this without taking into account the continuing downward trend in the exchange rate of the dollar on which oil transactions are pivoted.

It is clear that only agreed and simultaneous reduction in oil extraction by the OPEC and other oil-exporting developing countries can do away with the glut on the market and thereby bring prices up again. The observers from Angola, Mexico, Egypt, Malaysia and Oman at the last OPEC conference did not object to a joint reduction of overall extraction by 20 per cent. However, the OPEC countries themselves, even though they urged one another to join in concerted action, could not arrive at a specific agreement either on a general reduction of extraction or on lower quotas for each.

Algeria, Libya, Iran and Nigeria proposed cutting extraction in the OPEC countries from the present annual rate of 875 million tons to 700 million. But Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates insisted on retaining the 800-million-ton ceiling agreed on earlier but not observed by OPEC. Moreover, the Saudis firmly declared that they would not cut back on their present level of 217 million tons, which they consider the lowest they can go.

Meanwhile, the plummeting of prices is evidently going beyond the limits acceptable to the West, the United States included. The U.S. Fortune magazine believes that such a drop is not as advantageous to the U.S. as was expected, inasmuch as the part played by oil in the economy had diminished. Moreover, the magazine predicts a decline in the U.S. oil industry. This branch is the dominant industry in four states—Louisiana, Oklahoma, Texas and Alaska—which account for 10 per cent of the total employment in the country, and the oil companies account for 17 per cent of all investments in industry. It is predicted that extraction could decline by more than 10 per cent. Alaskan oil is becoming unprofitable. The U.S. transnational corporations affiliated with the International Oil Cartel have announced cuts in investments in prospecting and extraction. Their profits have fallen sharply.

That the U.S. Administration has to reckon with the powerful oil monopolies is evidenced by U.S. Vice-President George Bush's visit to Saudi Arabia and some other Arabian Peninsula countries which began on April 4. In a statement made before the start of the tour he evinced disquiet over the negative consequences for the Gulf countries of the drop in oil prices and above all over the decline of their purchasing power. It should be borne in mind that Saudi Arabia alone buys from American companies goods to the value of $4.5 billion annually. America's "national security interests," Bush said, require action to stabilize oil prices. The New York Times has observed that Washington proposes to induce Saudi Arabia to cut its oil production so as to bring prices up.

Thus, it is evident that although it caused the drop in oil prices itself, the United States is worried about the many grave consequences this could have. As regards OPEC, it is now faced with the most serious challenge in its history.

**R. ANDREASYAN, D. Sc. (Econ.)**

# KAYSONE PHOMVIHANE: SOVIET EXPERIENCE INVALUABLE

**The General Secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party (LPRP), Premier KAYSONE PHOMVIHANE headed the LPRP delegation to the 27th CPSU Congress. Before returning home, he granted the following interview to our correspondent Vladimir Godyna.**

**Could you share your impressions of the Soviet Communists' forum?**

First of all, I'd like to note that I have had the honour of attending several CPSU congresses. Among them, the 27th Congress holds a special place. It is a momentous and historic landmark in the political life of the Soviet people, and an event of great importance. The congress carried out a scientific analysis of the country's achievements and of the experience accumulated by the Communist Party and the Soviet people in the course of the implementation of the third CPSU Programme. Nor did it pass over shortcomings and mistakes. Taking all this into account, a programme of action for the coming period, unprecedented in depth and scope, was elaborated. Simultaneously, the tasks facing the nation were defined and ways of carrying them out indicated. In short, there is every reason to say that the congress marks a historic turning point on the path of accelerated socio-economic progress of your country on the basis of the wide application of the latest in science and technology, the utilization of the potential and advantages of the socialist systems, and greater efficacy of Party guidance. We are confident that the programme adopted by the congress will certainly be implemented.

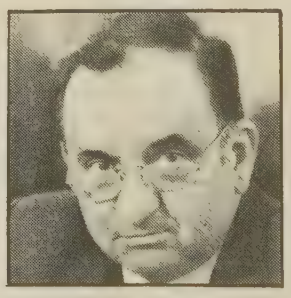
The congress documents contain the answers to a range of theoretical and practical questions relating to communist construction at various stages, thus further enriching the Marxist-Leninist teaching. The congress is therefore of immense importance not only for the Soviet Union but for the socialist community as a whole, for all countries that have chosen the path of socialist development.

**Laos included!**

Undoubtedly. The decade of socialist change in our country shows that the conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress are invaluable to us as well, for at present we, too, are doing away with the bureaucratic mechanism of economic management.

The new structure of economic management combines planning, calculation and control, and socialist enterprise. To abolish the bureaucratic mechanism and the practice of state subsidies and to develop socialist enterprise, factories and plants are being

# FRED SINOWATZ: ROOM FOR STILL WIDER COOPERATION



**Federal Chancellor FRED SINOWATZ of the Republic of Austria visited Moscow in connection with the opening of the Modern Austrian Industrial Equipment exhibition here. In the course of the visit he met Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. Before his departure, Fred Sinowatz granted an interview to our correspondent Roman Krestyaninov.**

**Mr Federal Chancellor, you have just had a talk with Mikhail Gorbachev. What are your main impressions?**

The very duration of the talk—two hours—speaks for itself. We discussed a broad range of issues pertaining both to bilateral links between our two countries and topical international problems. Mr Gorbachev's frank and businesslike pronouncements and his unfailing optimism made a profound impression on me.

**What can you say about the general state of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Austria?**

Trade and economic links between our two countries are making good progress. What is especially gratifying is that they are stable and based on mutual trust. In 1985 the Soviet Union ranked fourth in Austria's import trade and seventh in our export trade. These figures testify to a high level of bilateral economic links.

**Is there room for a further increase of cooperation between us?**

Although, as I have said, we are well pleased with the level achieved, there certainly is considerable as yet untapped potential. The Modern Austrian Industrial Equipment exhibition takes place at the beginning of a new five-year-plan period in the course of which the Soviet Union plans to achieve a still faster rate of development. I am convinced that Austrian technology could be of appreciable help in that. Besides, in our talks with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and First Deputy Premier Nikolai Taly-

given economic independence, but their responsibility for the final results of their work is greater.

We hope that as a result of the present reform, enterprises now operating at a loss will become profitable, budget revenues will steadily increase and living standards rise.

We wholeheartedly support the peace programme set out in the political report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress.

Along wth the Soviet Union, other socialist states and all peace-loving and progressive forces we shall do everything in our power to safeguard peace and our civilization.

The Lao people, who for decades suffered from imperialist aggression, has today only one desire—to work creatively and live in peace and friendship with all peoples, particularly our neighbours.

**In this connection, what could you say about your country's relations with socialist Vietnam and people's Kampuchea?**

I can note with satisfaction that our special relations with these countries are constantly evolving and have risen to a qualitatively new level. Our solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries are being expanded and consolidated. The international prestige of Laos is growing. Together with Vietnam and Kampuchea, we have frustrated all attempts by our enemies to drive a wedge between the three nations of Indo-China, weaken them and alienate them from the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

We have advanced, jointly with Vietnam and Kampuchea, constructive proposals to promote a dialogue between the Indo-China states and members of ASEAN with a view to making Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation. This would be a contribution to the cause of peace in Asia and the Pacific, and throughout the world.

**What could you say about cooperation between our two countries?**

Since the first days of our revolution and through all the years of our people's grim and heroic struggle against a cruel aggressor possessing vastly superior forces the Soviet Union has constantly rendered us powerful support and immense and effective assistance. After the formation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic, our ties have been developing in various fields. The Soviet Union is helping us to build the material and technical foundations of socialism. Today installations that have become symbols of Lao-Soviet friendship are to be seen everywhere in our country. They include the bridges over the Ngum and Kading rivers, radio and TV stations, a hospital, and a polytechnic. Specialists and skilled workers for Laos are being trained in the Soviet Union. Several thousand of them have already returned and are now engaged in constructive labour. Soviet specialists share their rich experience with us. All this is vital to strengthen the defences of our country, an outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia, to ensure our economic development and the gradual improvement of people's welfare. I take this opportunity to express once again our profound and sincere gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet government and the fraternal people of your country for their invaluable internationalist assistance.

We shall continue to follow the foreign policy course charted by the 3rd LPRP congress, consolidate unity and multiform cooperation with the great Soviet Union and other socialist states. We shall spare no effort to promote Lao-Soviet friendship and fruitful bilateral cooperation for the good of our peoples, in the name of peace and socialism. ■

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zin, we discussed other, more complex forms of economic cooperation to which we shall give top priority in the future.

There is further potential in all spheres of our cooperation, be it the reconstruction of existing plants, mutual commodity exchange or a more complex form of cooperation like joint operations on the markets of third countries. New forms of cooperation in the field of transportation—between East and West, in particular—are quite possible. All these matters were discussed during my talks in Moscow. A mixed Austrian-Soviet commission is to meet in Vienna this autumn, and I am sure that in the course of the discussion some of the points I have mentioned will be given thorough consideration.

**What do you think of the latest Soviet foreign policy initiatives put forward in Mikhail Gorbachev's statements providing for a stage-by-stage deliverance of the world from nuclear weapons, the prevention of the militarization of space and an end to nuclear weapon tests?**

Austria has long been calling for the suspension of nuclear tests as a first step towards the gradual reduction of nuclear weapons. In our opinion such a moratorium should be followed by subsequent measures—subject to verification— for disarmament involving conventional weapons as well. As for outer space, I should like to note that Austria's representative has been chairman of the U.N. Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space since 1958. We have always insisted that cooperation in space research be of an international character, that it should serve peaceful purposes and be in the interests of all nations.

**What is Austria doing to strengthen security in Europe and the world generally?**

As a permanently neutral state, Austria has always worked for peace, security and cooperation. Inside the country we pursue a policy of peace and accord, and respect for human rights, and see to it that the citizens of our country live in conditions of political, economic and social stability. We are on good terms with all our neighbours. All this gives us the moral right to speak about our contribution to the cause of peace, security and the observance of human rights. We pursue this line at various levels—at the United Nations, at international conferences, and in bilateral relations with other countries. May I remind you that the next session of the all-European conference is to be held in Vienna later this year. We hope the conference will be a success and will contribute to greater peace and security in Europe. ■

# PENTAGON AS CONSTRUCTOR

Who said the doctrine of neoglobalism is destructive? U.S. troop exercises in Honduras, code-named Terencio Sierra 86, give that the lie. In the course of the exercises such engineering projects as the improvement of roads are to be carried out. True, the building itch that afflicted the Pentagon when planning Terencio Sierra 86 is not out of any desire to make Honduras a land of roads. To fathom the motive, one need only recall that Honduras has a common frontier with Nicaragua and that some 20,000 contras entrenched there are being trained by Pentagon instructors. These bandits have been grouped into formations subordinate to five regional commands, each of which has its own programme for destruction and outrages inside Nicaragua.

Besides roads leading to the Nicaraguan border, the Pentagon is also building runways, munitions depots and other military installations in Honduras. Many of these are already operational. In the township of Palmerola the U.S. troops maintain a well-equipped airfield. In fact, one Congressional subcommittee described the said installation as "a contingency access facility should the U.S. Air Force be assigned missions in the area." Furthermore, the Aquacate air base, constructed during exercises by the U.S. 46th combat engineering unit, is also combat ready and, according to the news media, has been "left behind for use by CIA personnel."

Not only for CIA personnel, we might add. In connection with the drastically exacerbated situation on the border between the two countries, the Pentagon has made the Aquacate base operative; from it Honduran army units have been urgently airlifted to the frontier by U.S.-piloted helicopters.

On March 11 the White House put before Congress a draft budget itemizing $4.9 million for the upkeep of military installations in Honduras. Shortly before that the Pentagon asked Congress to assign about $50 million to enlarge installations built during military exercises. A fortnight or so later under cover of the hysterical anti-Nicaraguan campaign Washington urgently allocated $20 million to the Honduran government.

**A. VLADIMIROV**

**The U.S. President has asked Congress to grant the Nicaraguan $100 million to enable them to kill Sandinistas. True, he doesn't outright; he prefers to expatiate on U.S. "national security" i However, America's ultra-rights, who back the White House ca call a spade a spade. Emblazoned on their T-shirts is the legend Sandinista," for in their eyes "The only good Red is a dead Red**

Photo from L'Humanité (

# *LEARNING FROM LOCKHEED?*

The Japanese are good at assimilating and developing foreign know-how in industry, commerce, administration and what have you. At one time borrowed patents, licences and technologies paved the way for the "Japanese economic miracle." Now they have gone one better than their teachers. Nor has the very special lesson learned from the Lockheed affair in 1976 been wasted. When repercussions of the explosive row over the bribing of Japanese politicians by one of the U.S. biggest aircraft manufacturers had gradually subsided, some leading businessmen in the Land of the Rising Sun evidently thought U.S. methods of bagging advantageous contracts could pay off.

At any rate, it appears that six Japanese firms clandestinely paid Philippines ex-President Ferdinand Marcos and his retinue more than a million dollars' "commission" on deals within the context of Japanese-provided government credits. Incidentally, some of the payoff came as part of Japanese economic aid to the Philippines. Nor did representatives of Japan's own ruling party lose anything thereby. On the contrary, in contravention of legislation, they accepted large "donations" to the party fund from Marcos.

In the view of opposition parties the full-blown row that has now erupted in Tokyo bids fair to rank with the Lockheed scandal. The opposition is determined to have a thoroughgoing inquiry instituted into the affair. Answering questions in parliament, Prime Minister Jasuhiro Nakasone promised to find out what use is being made of Japanese economic aid to the Philippines, while Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe announced his intention to revise the machinery for providing such aid and conduct his own inquiry. However, the government is ing coolly as, accord Asahi, confirmation of would only expose its o savoury doings in the of economic aid for the pines.

**V. VO**

# STRIDING

**"Confident in our own our values, Americans ar to embrace the future. W in our recovery..."**

From Ronald Reag Union message to

What values and whic the President in mind? If the negligible minority wh ly all of the national weal ly right. But what about th

Harvard University soci U.S. is losing the war a mere ten years ago there south of the United State hunger even in the cor taken for granted by the counties in 24 states.

The U.S. now has its ow sessed, people subsisting

## FBI FILE ON SAMANTHA

Can a child threaten the "national security" of the United States? No doubt the idea would make many Americans smile. Not the FBI though. It will soon be undertaking to identify "suspects" and explore every aspect of their brief biographies. The more so as it has already amassed some experience in dealing with "unreliable" children. Indeed, hardly had Samantha Smith written to the Soviet leader and received an invitation to visit the U.S.S.R. than the FBI opened a file on her. The said file, it claims, is classified, as it concerns "the interests of national defence or foreign policy." Nonetheless, newsmen have learned that experts in subversive operations built up the little American girl's sincere desire to prevent war into an 11-page file on the girl herself, her relations and her contacts. One can easily imagine how many pages there are in files on her adult compatriots in various American peace organizations. Small wonder that FBI director William Webster complains of his men being overworked, which is why he wants his budget increased to $1.2 billion in the 1987 fiscal year.

"They should be out catching spies and bank robbers and people like that," said Representative Don Edwards of California, chairman of the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, "not wasting their time on peace organizations ... and little girls, wonderful little girls like Samantha Smith." Clearly, they are no longer in a position to devote themselves wholeheartedly to crime prevention as increasing numbers of schoolchildren are associating themselves with "questionable" peace movements, and some even personally met the "Russian Samantha," schoolgirl Katya Lycheva, when she visited the U.S.

G. SIDOROVA

## STILL "AMITY AND ACCORD"

"To His Excellency the President"—thus was addressed a letter sent to Jonas Savimbi in May 1975 by the leadership of Portugal's Social Democratic Party, then called the Popular Democratic Party. It expressed "heartfelt" thanks to the UNITA leader for his warm congratulations on the PDP's success in the Constituent Assembly elections. "We hope," the letter said, "that relations between UNITA and PDP will develop in a spirit of amity and accord."

In the eleven years since then the UNITA terrorists have committed many outrages in Angola—bomb explosions, arson and the killing of peaceful civilians. What has not changed in the slightest, though, is the relations between UNITA and the Social Democrats. There is, however, one small difference. It is now simpler for the two sides to exchange courtesies. UNITA is firmly entrenched in Lisbon, where it maintains its own office, issues "communiqués," purchases weapons and recruits mercenaries.

For years Luanda has been demanding that the activities of UNITA emissaries in Portugal be banned. In effect, a European terrorist headquarters that "does as it pleases" is active in the country, progressive Portuguese newspapers indignantly note. However, in the wake of Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, the Social Democrats, who are now in power, contend that UNITA "is no danger at all to anyone." In this connection the experience of the Portuguese specialists taken hostage by UNITA bandits in Angola could, one imagines, prove instructive.

V. KOLCHIK

poverty line. The figure stands today at 33 million, one in seven. Nearly one in four children under six lives in poverty.

According to the Washington-based Centre on Budget and Policy Priorities, in the wake of the Administration's "tax cuts" of 1980-83 the incomes of well-to-do families have averaged an increase of $1,480, while the incomes of the poorest strata have dropped by an average of $190.

Another figure, however, in another field, that of defence spending, will increase from 23.2 per cent of the budget in 1981 to 32.6 per cent in 1991.

The causes and consequences are not hard to discern. Nor is the direction the U.S. is taking with its seven-league strides.

M. SERGEYEV

**What happens when the Reagan Administration spots poor people still getting free services.**

Cartoon from Harper's Magazine (U.S.A.)

April 12, 1961, saw the first manned space flight—to be followed by the flights of some 200 more earth-dwellers in the quarter-century since. Today the new-generation Soviet space station Mir is in orbit

# GAGARIN, THE EARTH, THE UNIVERSE

ANDREI IVAKHNOV

Gagarin and space—today these two words are inseparable and their connotations infinite. They are not merely a name and an area of research. Together, they signify a vital new dimension in human activity, a breakthrough in the progress of civilization.

Unfortunately I did not have the good fortune to meet Yuri Gagarin in person. But I have read so many books, heard so many reminiscences, and seen so many photographs, films and television programmes about the world's first cosmonaut that I have come to know him as well as a member of my family. I am not the only person to feel this. Had he entered any home in this country, or in any country, for that matter, he would have been welcomed as someone near and dear.

The launching of the Vostok ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. However, this is not the only reason why April 12, 1961, is observed as a memorable date the world over. After the horrors of World War II, the A-bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the hard work of restoring war-ravaged cities, villages and factories, and faced with the danger of a new conflict—this time a nuclear one—mankind suddenly had a glimpse of a radiant future and saw what heights could be attained if all its creative energies and resources were applied to peaceful ends. In various parts of the planet the name "Gagarin" became synonymous with "peace."

## What He Was Like

A rank-and-file pilot who blazed the trail into outer space, an ordinary Soviet citizen who actually became a leading political figure on the international scene.... Much has already been said and written about Yuri Gagarin's finest qualities of which there were many—his sound judgement and loyalty to duty, his rare industry and insatiable thirst for knowledge.

His merits can be dwelt upon ad infinitum, but what was most to his credit, perhaps, was that he passed the severe test of fame and remained true to his own self. It must, unfortunately, be admitted that, when showered with supreme distinctions and held in universal esteem, some people change, and not always for the better. Not so Gagarin.

Asked what role Yuri Gagarin played in his life, the cosmonaut Vladimir Dzhanibekov replied: "To begin with, Gagarin was a very vivid example of what a cosmonaut should be like. He combined high professionalism with loyalty to his country, sterling human qualities and readiness to help. I know to my cost how hard it is to bear the burden of what we call

popularity or renown, and how important it is to prevent this from going to your head. I recall his answer to the question of whether he found it hard to bear the burden of glory which had fallen to him. 'It is the glory of my people,' Yuri Gagarin replied, 'and I must bear it with honour.' "

## Unforgettable

I leaf through a huge volume entitled "Cosmonautics"—an encyclopedia of over 500 pages filled with tiny "reference-book" type. The compilers of the encyclopedia admit that a considerable amount of relevant information has remained outside it. Had they confined themselves to the information at our disposal before Gagarin's flight, the book would have been much smaller.

Cosmonautics entered my life long before I became a journalist. In the sixties I went to Baikonur as a foreman to help build a launching pad there. Today, years later, there have been newspaper articles and television films about the builders of the now world-famous cosmodrome in Kazakhstan. For a considerable time I worked shoulder to shoulder with them, sharing their joys and their troubles.

I had several teams of young building workers under me. Most of them had just completed their military service. They worked as selflessly as the virgin-land pioneers did in other parts of Kazakhstan. Having done two shifts at a stretch, they returned to the barracks exhausted and flung themselves on their bunks without undressing. One day a messenger came over to me and said my superior wanted me. And a few minutes later my boys, still not quite awake, silently climbed into a truck. Time was pressing, and there was no need for pep talks. We had heard on the cosmodrome grapevine that three "space brothers" would lift off on board a new ship from our pad as soon as we had finished it. That was worth a selfless effort.

Finally, I saw a lift-off for the first time. A small unmanned probe was launched. From a safe distance we looked on with rapt attention. There was a flash, followed by a cloud of smoke and claps of thunder. We cheered, hugged and kissed one another. The boys talked all at once: "Remember how much stuff we carted over there?" "I say, fellows, if it hadn't been for us...." The "fellows" wept, their faces streaming with happy tears.

Much has changed in Baikonur over the past decades. The barracks have disappeared, the settlement has grown into a beautiful town. Displayed in its central square are portraits of its honorary citizens, including the men under whose management the cosmodrome was built. At the edge of the town there is the Kosmonavt Hotel where cosmonauts go through final pre-flight procedures, recuperate after their return to earth and write their reports. The hotel stands amid shaded alleys, with each of the trees lining them planted by a new cosmonaut. The long rows of elms stretching almost as far as the eye can see give one a graphic idea of how many earthmen have had the happy opportunity of looking at our planet from outer space.

A field near a virgin-land state farm was crowded with a dozen-odd helicopters and the bizarre-looking cross-country vehicles of a search party. The landing of another manned orbital craft was about an hour off. We strolled back and forth, past the vehicles, waiting to be taken by air to the spot on which a large brightly-coloured parachute would soft-land a precious load—the sphere of the descent module with the homecoming spacemen inside.

It was getting rather chilly on that autumn day, and we turned up the collars of our coats. A group of boys, all coatless, came running up to us from a far-off settlement.

"Where are you from?"

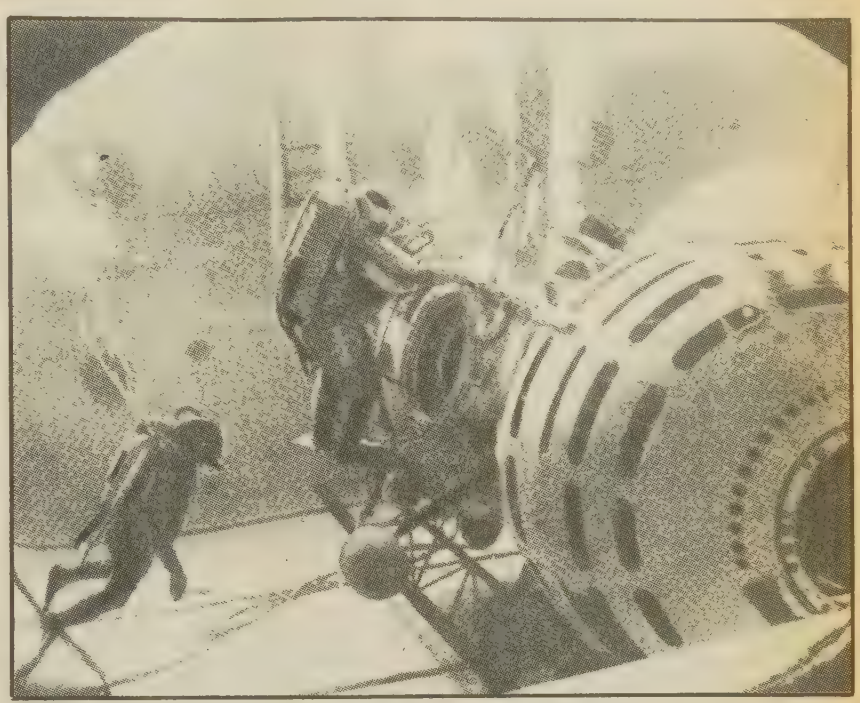
"From school. We saw it from the window and just couldn't sit through the rest of the classes."

"All right," Alexei Leonov, the head of the group which was to see the space crew in, commanded. "Run back to school at the double, all of you, and put your coats on. We'll wait for you here."

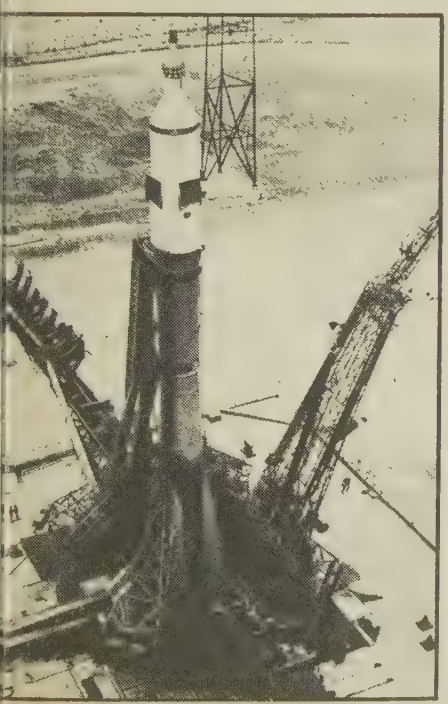
"Can't do that. The teacher's got the key, and she's coming too."

We sent the kids and their teacher back to fetch their coats. They didn't keep us waiting long, and presently gathered around Leonov trying not to miss a word of what he was telling them. A crowd of adults gathered a little farther away, talking, pointing to the cross-country search party vehicles, but keeping their distance.

"These are our best harvesting machine operators," the schoolmaster



**Underwater workouts are part of the cosmonaut training programme.**



**All set for a lift-off.**

who had just joined us explained to Leonov.

"Why don't they come nearer then?"

The schoolmaster walked over to them and said something. They stayed put for a while, then took off their padded coats and caps, slowly and carefully arranged them in a neat pile, smoothed their jackets down, sleeked their hair and then solemnly trooped towards the cosmonaut, extending their horny hands to him in turn. An unforgettable scene!

I retain pleasant memories of Evpatoria, where my first "space assignment" took me. It was not only that throughout the whole two months of our stay there the sky was clear and the sea warm. Those were two months of the most satisfying work I have ever done as a newsman.

I still wonder why the local museum has still (for all I know) no exposition devoted to the role the town has played in space exploration. It is there that the antennae for long-distance space communication, photographs of which have appeared in papers all over the world, were installed. It was in Evpatoria that the first photographs of the surface of Venus were obtained in the summer of 1975. It was there that young engineers and airmen who later went into space themselves took turns at the ground control panels.

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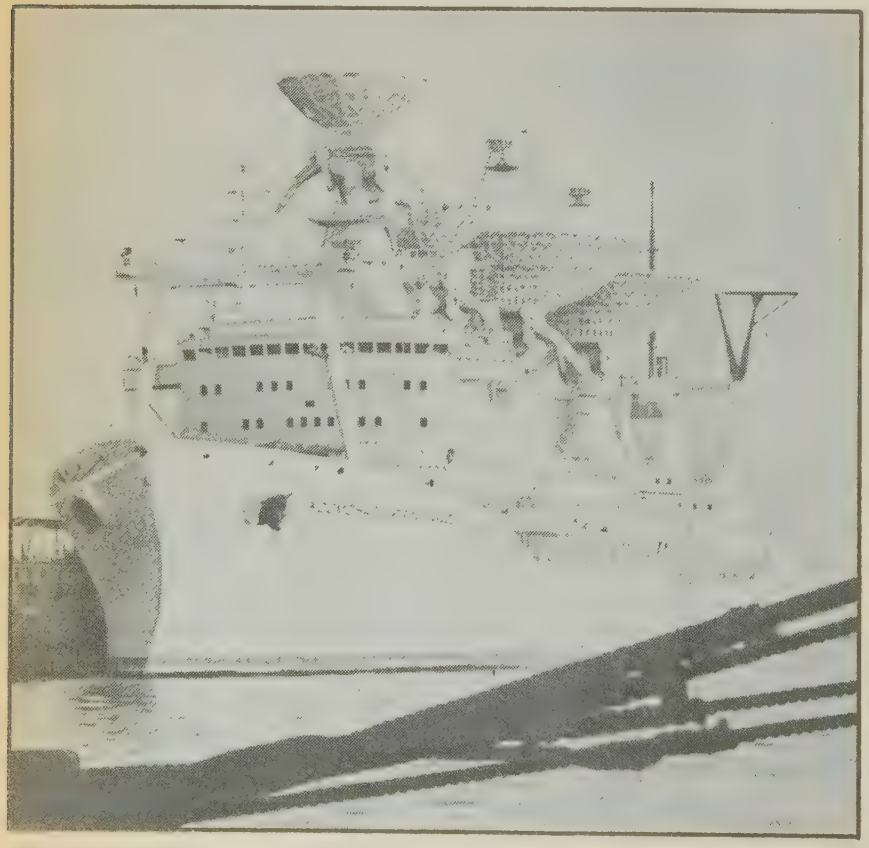
**The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences spacecraft-tracking ship Kosmonavt Yuri Gagarin.**



Pyotr Klimuk and Vitaly Sevastyanov were in orbit that summer eleven years ago. They stayed up for over two months, a space flight duration record at the time, carrying out all the experiments that had been planned and watching the earth through the portholes for hours. They chanced to see phenomena the previous space crews had missed. We listened with bated breath to reports from outer space about silvery clouds that hovered over the earth, the rays of the aurora australis (southern lights) which looked like ears of corn, underwater mountain ridges which the cosmonauts discerned in seeming contradiction of all laws of physics, a huge ocean wave hundreds of kilometres long, a bright flare on the sun they spotted before the ground-based astronomical observatories did.

## Time of Great Expectations

The summer of 1975 saw another event which took its place in the history of cosmonautics: the Soviet-American joint space mission. It was also a festive occasion for everyone on earth who was tired of the cold war. Yuri Gagarin had nursed dreams of such joint ventures. As he was spanning America during his historic flight he had thought, to quote from his reminiscences: "Will American astronauts promote the cause of peace as we do, or will they be slaves to those who are preparing war? It would be wonderful if all the nations of the globe devoted all their energies to safeguarding universal and lasting peace...."

**In the flight control centre.**

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Gagarin's dream appeared to be coming true. Congratulating those who carried out the joint space mission, the U.S. President said such Soviet-American flights would soon become common practice. It was a time of discoveries, a time of great expectations....

All this seems like yesterday, not like over a decade ago. Then, in 1975, people even knew the cosmonauts by their first names, while now the list is too long to remember even the surnames of all of them. On board Soviet spaceships and orbital stations our cosmonauts have teamed up with their counterparts from socialist countries and also from France and India. Today Syrian cosmonauts are preparing for their first space mission, and there are plans for another French pilot to go up. The Salyut-5 of a decade ago is dwarfed by today's third-generation station bearing the symbolic name of Mir (Peace). The station has six docking units to attach interchangeable laboratory modules, cabins for the crew, and provides for communicating with earth by relay satellite from any point in orbit. When Professor Konstantin Feoktistov, pilot cosmonaut of the U.S.S.R., told us last year about prospects for cosmonautics, all this sounded futuristic. Today it is a reality.

The U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' tracking ships have more and more work to do. A few years ago I visited the largest of these vessels, the Kosmonavt Yuri Gagarin. Looking like a huge white iceberg crowned with the

latticed dishes of long-distance space communication receivers, it had just returned to Odessa from a 217-day watch in the World Ocean. The ship made a striking impression on me. Besides cabins with a total floor space of 20,000 sq. m., it has 86 research laboratories, several spacious messrooms, a gym, a cinema, two libraries, a swimming pool and a polyclinic. The ship's power plants are of a sufficiently high capacity to keep a whole city with a population of 100,000 supplied with electricity.

The aerials are designed to lock onto any point in a matter of seconds. On that difficult voyage the expedition maintained communication with space crews for 156 days and nights at a stretch. All its systems functioned without a hitch despite dense fogs and violent storms. The flight control centre gave the expedition top marks.

## The Cosmonauts' Earthly Concerns

I leaf through the space encyclopedia and see behind its pages live astronauts and their exploits: Vladimir Dzhanibekov, who has completed five space missions; Svetlana Savitskaya, with two orbital flights to her credit, the first woman to have taken a walk in space; Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyov, who performed six extravehicular tasks during their record-breaking 237-day flight, spending a total of nearly 24 hours outside Salyut-7. These are real space-walking champions!

However, it is not to set new records that ever newer Soviet expeditions set out on their space missions.

I have read somewhere that on the eve of Gagarin's flight, General Designer Sergei Korolyov wrote to the country's leading research centres asking them what experiments in their particular fields they would like to see carried out in space. One of his letters was sent back to him with a note enclosed which read: "We do not go in for science fiction." A little over a decade ago, when I started writing on space for Izvestia, I saw on a space mission director's desk a pile of folders bulging with requests for research, observation and experiments from oceanologists and astronomers, glaciologists and meteorologists, cartographers and geologists.

Those requests have long been met. Space observations and photographs have saved much time and effort for geological prospectors on earth and helped discover many promising mineral deposits. Cosmonauts contribute to environment protection by indicating the most vulnerable areas. In orbit, they can see how fields, woods and pastures "feel" and whether they need help and protection.

Much has already been written in newspaper reports, scientific articles and books about crystals grown in orbit, materials with unique properties, biotechnological preparations and medicines obtained there. Few know that one of the processes involved in the production of the anti-flu vaccine was developed on board a space laboratory. Over the past quarter of a century cosmonautics has become a branch of the national economy.

People have got used to spaceship launchings. Television and newspaper reports on space flights no longer arouse the avid interest they used to. Nevertheless, space research still calls not only for robust health but also for great courage and selflessness. Although spaceships and stations embody the latest in science and technology, this does not give a 100-per-cent guarantee against all the dangers of space flight. The news of the tragic death of seven astronauts—the crew of the U.S. space shuttle Challenger— was a grave shock to all.

**The Soyuz-Apollo joint Soviet-American space mission is over.**

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This disaster also gives much food for thought. What cause should spacemen serve? Gagarin's concern was not without foundation: the Pentagon is, after all, laying its hands on the American space programme. We planned to put into orbit research and industrial complexes, solar power stations and interplanetary spaceship-yards. But what about the Americans? Here are some passages I copied from foreign publications five years ago: "Using a shuttle, military spacemen will be able to watch troop movements, monitor missile deployment and tests, inspect potentially hostile satellites and, if necessary, destroy them." "The U.S. intends to use space shuttles to set up a Pentagon command post in a stationary round-the-earth orbit." The U.S. war department is forming units for military uses of outer space, setting up a "space command." The Defence Secretary has been made responsible for working out a programme to unite civilian space systems so that they can "take part in combat operations in an emergency." The Pentagon advocates building up a virtual armada of combat space stations and a space laser arms race.

In 1983, cosmonauts Vladimir Lyakhov and Alexander Alexandrov worked in orbit. "In space at the moment are our crew and U.S. astronauts," they said in a live telecast, "but we are separated from each other and we are performing entirely different tasks. It is our wish that nuclear arms should not be put into round-the-earth orbit, that laser sights should not be used here and that vehicles intended to remove peaceful craft from orbit should not be tested. May there be only handshakes in space."

These hopes are shared by all Soviet people. A programme for peaceful space exploration was unanimously approved by delegates to the 27th CPSU Congress, and the peoples of the world gave the Soviet peace policy its due.

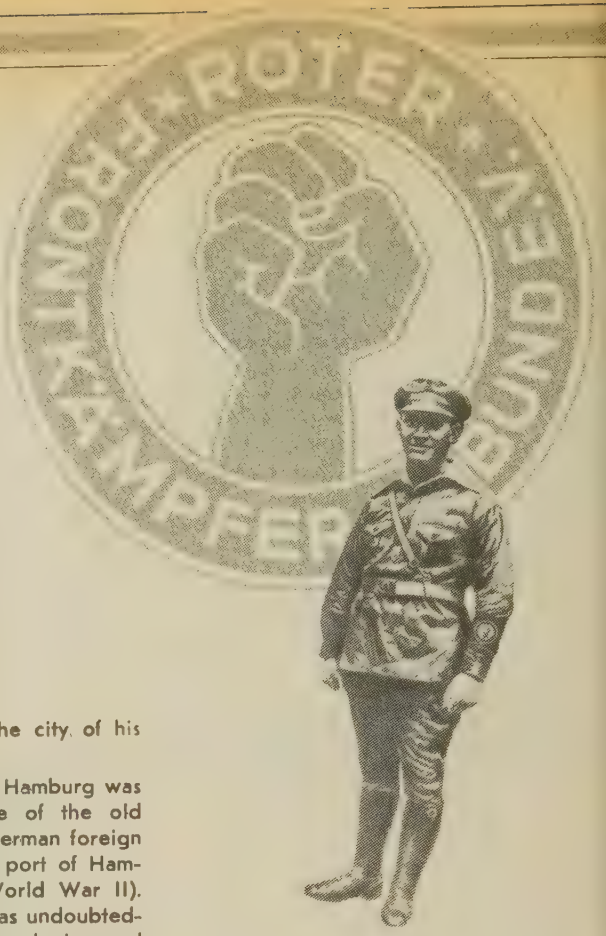
A new five-year period of space exploration has begun. The Veha-1 and Veha-2 Soviet automatic probes have taken unique pictures of Halley's comet. Leonid Kizim and Vladimir Solovyov are making themselves at home on board the orbital station Mir.

The peaceful space research programme initiated by Yuri Gagarin continues. ■

# OUR TEDDY

**April 16, 1986, marks the centenary of Ernst Thaelmann, the German communist leader and outstanding figure in the international communist and working-class movement. The anniversary is being observed on a large scale in the Soviet Union: a monument to Thaelmann is being erected in the square that bears his name, rallies and theoretical conferences are being held, and books, pictorial biographies and posters published.**

**New Times asked the well-known Soviet journalist and writer, Ernst Henri, who was personally involved in the struggle of the German Communists in the 1920s and 1930s, to contribute an article to commemorate the anniversary of Thaelmann's birth. Henri decided on an unusual form for his contribution: he has based it on an album by the historian Jakov Drabkin and the artist Leonid Kozlov, brought out by Plakat, the publishing house of the CPSU Central Committee. Ernst Henri tells his story as he leafs through the album.**




On the night of August 17, 1944, eight months and three weeks before the end of World War II, a prisoner was stood against the wall near the crematorium in Buchenwald, a nazi concentration camp near Weimar. Near him were a few guards, including an SS man called Otto. Shots were fired a few minutes later and the prisoner fell down dead. His body was incinerated together with his clothing.

That was how the nazis killed one of the people Hitler feared more than anyone else in Germany, and with good reason: Ernst Thaelmann, the German communist leader, or Teddy, as German workers called him.

I am leafing through an album put out by the Soviet historian Yakov Drabkin and artist Leonid Kozlov in which, each in his own way, they describe Thaelmann's life and death. I see how in a matter of years an ordinary Hamburg worker became one of the most famous, trusted and hated men in his country. It is as if I were reading a novel about heroism, but one written by life itself. This true heroism is, perhaps, the hallmark of our age—as our descendants will testify.

What was Thaelmann's greatest quality? If we compare him with his predecessors in the leadership of the Communist Party of Germany, we may say that he was not an outstanding theorist like Rosa Luxemburg or an inspired speaker like Karl Liebknecht. Nor was he an organizational and conspiratorial genius like Leo Jogiches (Tyska), who came to lead the party after Luxemburg and Liebknecht were murdered.

Much about Thaelmann both as individual and political figure becomes understandable if we remember his particularly close ties with the city of his birth, Hamburg.

At the time of his birth Hamburg was a major economic centre of the old Germany (about half of German foreign trade passed through the port of Hamburg on the eve of World War II). Moreover, politically, it was undoubtedly one of the more freedom-loving and advanced cities in the country. Hamburg seemed to breed rebels and fighters against reaction. In 1867, the first edition of "Capital" by Karl Marx was published in the city. Hamburg was a true revolutionary centre, to a far greater extent than, say, Berlin or Munich. It had a major role to play in the revolution that overthrew the Kaiser in 1918. Many years later, during World War II, anti-fascist Resistance groups operated in Hamburg. "Hamburg workers and employees were and will always remain my closest brothers," Thaelmann once wrote. "They were my first comrades in the struggle and suffering on my stormy path through life."

Thaelmann left his parents' home when he was not yet 16, with just three marks in his pocket. Life was hard indeed: he did not have enough to eat, had to sleep in dosshouses, and used to read long into the night. First he worked as a waterfront stevedore, then a sailor, and assistant stoker, learning at first hand about class struggle. "My grim lot," he recalled later, "early taught me to feel and understand the life and way of thinking of the German worker.... We have withstood everything because we belonged to a class which knew the privations of life and did not bow to them." Thaelmann soon realized what was in store for him, but did not want any other destiny.

As I look at the pictures, I recall my own youth. In the 1920s I was in Germany, writing revolutionary articles which I signed "Leonid." At one time I contributed to the leading newspaper of the Communist Party, Die Rote Fahne, and was its correspondent in Moscow. I also published booklets in the party printshop VIVA. I remember Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck and other party leaders, I remember life under conditions of strict secrecy. Every step by active Communists and members of the Young Communist League was closely watched. Party comrades thought it little short of a crime if anyone was late 4 or 5 minutes for a meeting....

I remember the faces of my friends, who believed that socialism in their country was imminent and who courageously bore the bitterness of a defeat they had not deserved. This cannot be forgotten. I know that some of those who took part in the struggle at that time survived and after the collapse of nazism joined the builders of a socialist state on German soil, the German Democratic Republic.

I was arrested shortly before the uprising in Hamburg in October 1923, but spent only 8 months in the Moabit prison in Berlin because they did not have enough evidence against me. By the late 1920s it had become absolutely

clear that nazism was the wolf at the door and that a bloodbath was being prepared. I was already nursing the ideas that subsequently formed the basis of my books, "Hitler over Europe?" and "Hitler over Russia?"

The album shows page by page the life of young Thaelmann. Here is Teddy, a stevedore in the Hamburg port, with which he had life-long links. Here he is paying tribute along with other workers to the memory of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. Here he is in Moscow in the summer of 1921, listening to Lenin at the 3rd Congress of the Communist International, learning the art of political foresight and party leadership. At that time Thaelmann already was leader of the Hamburg party organization.

Two years later Thaelmann led an armed uprising in Hamburg: his organization was given the task of spearheading the struggle for political power in Germany. It was an unprecedented event in the country. Barricades were put up in the streets of the city in a matter of hours, and poorly armed units of workers clashed with police, who were vastly superior in number. As many as 58 barricades were erected in the suburb of Barmbeck, the site of Thaelmann's headquarters.

The rebels wanted to build a socialist Germany. However, at the crucial moment the plan collapsed because of the cowardly policies of certain opportunists in Berlin, and Thaelmann had to back down.

Subsequently he wrote: "The tragedy of the 1918 German revolution lay... in the contradiction between objectively ripe revolutionary conditions, on the one hand, and the subjective weakness of the German proletariat, which lacked a purposeful Bolshevik party, on the other.... Neither the revolutionary instinct nor the incomparable heroism of the individual leaders of the Spartakusbund, the brutally murdered founders of our party, were a substitute for an iron vanguard steeled in the flames of revolutionary practice."

The circumstances that decided the issue in 1923 were much the same, and Thaelmann understood that well. He did not lose heart, however, but started from scratch. In the Reichstag election, he was at the top of the list of candidates for the Communist Party, which polled almost 3.7 million votes, and the next year he was nominated by the Communists as candidate for Reichspraesident.

No less important was the establishment, in 1924, of the militant Rote Frontkämpferbund (Union of Red War Veterans), with a membership of 70,000, including 45,000 non-party people, and Thaelmann as its chairman. We see in the album a photograph of Thaelmann, stocky, uniformed, his clenched fist raised in the Rot Front salute. In September 1925, Thaelmann, then 39, was elected chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the world's second largest Communist party after the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks).

Throughout those years Thaelmann never forgot that the main friend and ally of his party was the Soviet Union. On a visit to the U.S.S.R., he attended, together with Nadezhda Krupskaya and Clara Zetkin, a meeting of Moscow party activists. Thaelmann wrote: "In fighting the growing threat of imperialist war ..., we need, more than ever before, internationalism and the revolutionary solidarity of the great mass of working people the world over, allied with the oppressed colonial peoples...."

These words have a strangely contemporary ring.

Semyon Budyonny announced at that time that Thaelmann's name would be given to a Red Army regiment. The Vystrel (Shot) advanced training courses for army commanders awarded Thaelmann the title of Honorary Red Armyman. Visiting Leningrad, Thaelmann went out to the Smolny, the headquarters of the revolution, and the Krasny Putilovets, Krasny Treugolnik and other factories.

The sailors of the Aurora made Thaelmann an honorary crew member and gave him a naval uniform. Thaelmann's entry in the Aurora Visitors' Book is kept at the museum of the ship under his portrait, later presented by his wife, Rosa.

His loyalty to the cause had no limits. He once said: "Our attitude to the Soviet Union also answers the question of what camp we belong to in German politics, that of revolution or that of counterrevolution." Thaelmann was neither philosopher nor theorist but he certainly knew what was what in class struggle.

Meanwhile, the situation in Germany was deteriorating. The militarists were refurbishing the armed forces and the nazis were openly growing in strength. Thaelmann personally headed a strike of dockers in Hamburg, then a strike of shipyard and port workers. He could not have denied himself this privilege as onetime worker in Hamburg. In May 1928 he led a 100,000-strong demonstration of Red War Veterans in Berlin and delivered a fiery speech in Lustgarten.

In those days Thaelmann laid emphasis in his speeches on two points of major importance for the future of his country.

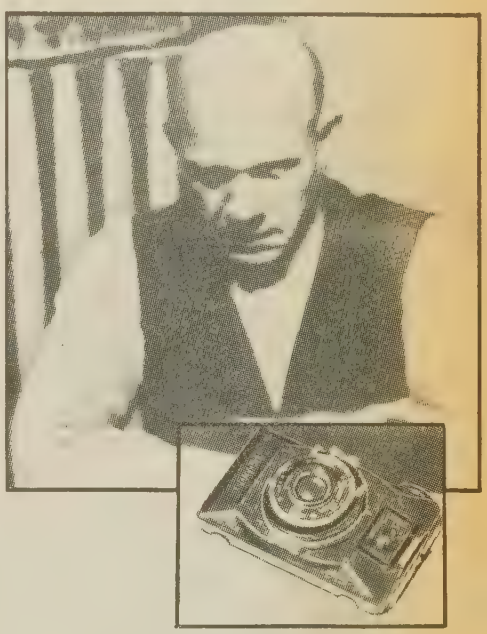
**First,** he stressed the urgent need to involve young people in the revolutionary movement. Communists, according to him, should learn to work with young people, win them over and foster a revolutionary spirit in them.

Surely today too this problem faces all those who oppose fascism and actively work for peace.

**Second,** Thaelmann particularly stressed the need to establish relations of comradeship between workers, Communists and Social Democrats. Pointing to the growth of militarism in Germany, he stressed the special need to form a

**May 1928. Ernst Thaelmann at the head of a 100,000-strong Union of Red War Veterans demonstration.**

Picture by Leonid Kozlov



**1944. The last photo of Ernst Thaelmann. It was taken secretly by his daughter in a nazi prison. Inset: the camera that was used.**

Archive photo

single workers' front in factories and in the streets.

This applies as much now as it did in Thaelmann's day. Here too his judgement was incisive and farsighted. He believed it possible "to tear down the artificial wall" between Communists and Social Democrats and pinpointed the differences between the right-wing leaders and rank-and-file members of the Social Democratic Party.

In those years, however, the right-wing Social Democrats did not respond to Thaelmann's appeal. Conversely, when the Social Democratic authorities in Berlin in 1929 prohibited a traditional May Day demonstration, and about 200,000 workers, responding to the Communists' appeal, organized a peaceful march, the police, supervised by the Social Democratic bureaucrats, viciously attacked the demonstrators, killing 33 and wounding hundreds.

Workers in the working-class districts of Wedding and Neukölln in Berlin began spontaneously to put up barricades but the Communist Party restrained them from continuing a futile struggle. At night Thaelmann himself set out through subterranean passages to the site of battles in Wedding to persuade the fighters to lay down their arms. The communist newspaper Rote Fahne was banned and the Rote Frontkämpferbund had to go underground. When the Social Democrats convened a congress in Magdeburg, their chairman, Otto Wels, openly stated that his party supported dictatorial measures to protect the bourgeois state.

But which of them was proved right in 1933, when the nazis gained power and started their mass killings—Wels or Thaelmann?

The final reckoning was now imminent. As the working-class movement was divided and weakened, the initiative was immediately seized by its mortal enemies, effectively supported by the bourgeois elite. Of Thaelmann in that period we can only say that as long as he was free, he did everything possible to stem the onslaught of nazism. Of course, as an experienced conspirator, he foresaw that he would be picked up by the Gestapo sooner or later. The party ordered him to leave Germany. But three days before he was to go, Thaelmann was captured by the Gestapo and subjected to brutal torture.

One photograph in the album shows Thaelmann being taken by policemen for interrogation in Moabit prison. He sees other Gestapo men escorting Dimitrov in the corridor. Without saying a word, both raised clenched fists surreptitiously, effectively saying: "Rot Front!" They had worked together in Berlin and Moscow. One was to die, the other to become the national hero of socialist Bulgaria.

It eventually became clear that Thaelmann had been killed on Hitler's personal orders. Even in August 1944, when the end of the war was drawing near, the nazi dictator was still afraid of the communist leader. The case of Otto, one of Thaelmann's killers, has been dragging on for over 20 years in West German courts. The reason probably is that he can vindicate himself by saying that he acted on Hitler's orders.

Ernst Thaelmann had an ardent love for people, life and justice. In his clash with nazism it was he who emerged the victor, because the German Democratic Republic as it exists today owes its emergence to people like him. He once said prophetically: "...to be a soldier of the revolution means to be boundlessly loyal to one's cause, loyal to the point of life and death, and also to show unquestionable reliability, confidence, valour and energy in the struggle in any circumstances. Let the flames raging within us, shining in our hearts and lighting up our spirit, lead us like a bright beacon through the battlefields of life."

Not only people interested in the German working-class movement, but also those who care for the future of the younger generation today should remember Thaelmann. His life and death are a lesson to us, showing us who are the friends and who are the enemies of the young as they ponder their future and are carried along by the dramatic developments in the world today.

As you take a closer look at Thaelmann's portrait on the cover of the new pictorial biography you realize that it is the face not only of Teddy, the Hamburg worker, but also of an indomitable son of Prometheus. Thaelmann's life is still an example to us today. ■

# TO PEOPLE OF GOODWILL

**The Russian Orthodox Church has addressed a message to the world public defining the tasks involved in safeguarding peace and saving life on earth from destruction in a nuclear catastrophe. In its importance, the Message on War and Peace in a Nuclear Age ranks as a programme document of the international peace movement. It proceeds from the premise that the threat of nuclear war is now obvious to sober-minded people the world over and that this growing danger is a source of profound concern to churchmen, public figures, politicians and scientists who see that the question of war and peace is a question of life and death for all of us.**

**The new reality of the 20th century —the advent of weapons of mass destruction—confronts us with a whole range of problems which call for a radically new approach.**

**"Not to be the first to use nuclear weapons is the only morally justified position where such weapons exist," the message reads. The illusion that a first strike can be made with impunity by building up a space-based anti-ballistic missile defence system is especially dangerous.**

**In support of their position the churchmen use, for the first time, the scientific appraisal of the nature of nuclear weapons and the consequences of their use put forward by scientists in both socialist and non-socialist countries.**

**It is implicit in the message that the arms race is economically pernicious as well. It deprives needy nations of aid and interferes with their development. The deliverance of the earth from the blight of nuclear weapons is the hope of the nations and the demand of the time, the message says. The reality of the modern world calls for urgent measures to remove the nuclear threat. This end is served by the initiatives advanced in mid-January of this year by the Soviet government proposing that the U.S.S.R. and U.S. mutually undertake to stop developing, testing and deploying space strike weapons. "We call upon the governments of all nuclear powers," the message says, "to gather courage to embark on the road of delivering the earth from nuclear weapons."**

**The task of safeguarding peace transcends religious differences—it is the common duty of mankind. The Russian Orthodox Church urges every effort to prevent a war of total destruction. Any step or initiative in this direction is blessed. It is our most urgent priority to put up a barrier in the way of the arms race, stop and reverse it so as to deliver the world forever from nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction. This is the immediate task facing all men of goodwill.**

**Numerous Soviet and foreign journalists accredited to Moscow were acquainted with the text of the Message of the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church on War and Peace in a Nuclear Age at a press conference in the Moscow Patriarchate on April 8.**

**B. KOZLOV**

# WHO IS TORPEDOING THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

The more than ten years that have passed since the adoption of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe have amply demonstrated the vital force of this document, the political significance of the broad concept of security underlying its principles and provisions. The Helsinki accords were intended to put relations between states on a stable basis, to create an atmosphere of trust and security, to remove obstacles to cooperation in the economy, in science, culture, education and other humanitarian fields.

The adoption of the Final Act became possible because the participants in the Helsinki conference were motivated by political will to improve their relations and to ensure security, justice and cooperation.

European progressive opinion is now increasingly focussing attention on how the participating states are living up to the commitments that were undertaken in Helsinki. This question is being raised more and more emphatically, for the Final Act, détente, have struck deep root. The final document of the Madrid meeting of the participants in the all-European process adopted in 1983 augmented and developed a number of provisions of the Final Act and further heightened its significance as a document basic to détente.

## Attack from Washington

For the spokesmen of the American war industry monopolies détente was nothing short of a scourge. They wanted to scrap it. For who would provide the money for armaments if the prospect was the "true and lasting peace" the Final Act proclaimed as the objective?

The onslaught on the Helsinki accords, which began at the time of the Belgrade meeting in 1977-78 of the participants in the all-European conference, has lately reached a particularly high pitch. If in the beginning spokesmen of the U.S. Administration dropped the word "détente," later they found it impossible even to mention the name of the conference and especially the words "security and cooperation."

Why? It is enough to glance at the first section of the Final Act—"Questions relating to security in Europe." It begins with the principles the 35 countries agreed to be guided by in their mutual relations—sovereign equality, non-use of force or the threat of force, inviolability of frontiers, territorial integrity of states, peaceful settlement of disputes, non-intervention in internal affairs, respect for human rights, equal rights and self-determination of peoples, etc.

Is there anything in common between these principles and the actions of the U.S. in the international arena? How can the U.S. invasion of Grenada and the policy of subversion and open hostility towards Nicaragua be reconciled with the principles of sovereign equality, respect of rights inherent in sovereignty, the right of each people "freely to choose and develop its political, social, economic and cultural systems," or the principle of equal rights and self-determination of the peoples? Cooperation with the South African racists and Afghan counter-revolutionaries are likewise violations of this last principle.

What if not a mockery of the principle of the non-use of force or the threat of force is the U.S. armed provocation against Libya or military aid to the UNITA bands in Angola?

Spokesmen of the U.S. Administration avoid talking about the inviolability of frontiers and the territorial integrity of states. Support of revanchist groups, émigré "ambassadors" and self-styled "ministers," who have been expelled by their own peoples but have found sanctuary in the U.S., and the establishment, through the agency of stooges, of diverse organizations in other countries whose main purpose is to interfere in internal affairs and to disorganize public life are eloquent testimony to Washington's attitude to the principles underlying the peaceful life of the European, and not only European, peoples.

The opponents of détente stop at nothing. They have no qualms about exploiting even religious sentiment. For instance, the international mystic Sannyasins sect, which is rabidly anti-communist in character, had its headquarters in the U.S. state of Oregon and is now active in other countries. The dogmas of this organization release its adherents from the observance of any moral norms.

The U.S. special services totally control the terrorist religious Anand Marg organization, which is used for subversive activity against developing and socialist countries.

Yet the sixth principle of the Final Act reads: "The participating states will refrain from any intervention, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in the internal or external affairs falling within the domestic jurisdiction of another participating state, regardless of their mutual relations."

## Formula of Provocation

The significance of the Final Act mounts in step with the increasing realization by world public opinion of the value and importance of its principles and provisions. All the more so since the signatory states declared their intention to order their relations with all other countries in the spirit of these principles.

By the same token American subversive or provocative actions in Latin America, Africa, the Middle East or in Southeast Asia are a violation of both the spirit and the letter of the Helsinki accords.

As Mikhail Gorbachev said in his statement of January 15 this year, the peoples of the Soviet Union and the whole world expect and demand a turn for the better in the international arena. If such a turn does not take place, the responsibility will rest on the imperialist quarters, above all those of the United States.

In a recent pamphlet entitled "Soviet Military Power" Pentagon "thinkers" maintain that "arms control agreement" [mark you, control over armaments, not over disarmament] "cannot be isolated from the underlying competition between the United States and the Soviet Union."

Thus rivalry is the formula of American behaviour, primarily in military matters. What about the Final Act, what about "overcoming the confrontation stemming from the character of their [participating states'] past relations," what about all the high-minded goals it was pledged to pursue in Helsinki?

A section of the Final Act is devoted to security and cooperation in the Mediterranean.

The declaration of intent made by the United States together with the other 34 signatories in signing the Final Act involved the political commitment "to promote the development of good-

neighbourly relations with the non-participating Mediterranean states" and, accordingly, "to conduct their relations with the non-participating Mediterranean states in the spirit of the principles set forth in the Declaration on Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States."

Consequently, the principles of the Final Act are a criterion by which to judge the U.S. provocation against Libya.

Washington occasionally does refer to the Final Act, but these references rarely relate to the commitments it undertook in the section of the Final Act devoted to cooperation in the field of economics, science and technology, and the environment. How indeed can the sanctions, economic blockades, embargoes, trade bans and attempts to disorganize the economy of other countries be reconciled with the provisions of the Final Act?

## "Third Basket" Lies

What Washington likes to talk about is the so-called "third basket" of the Final Act—cooperation in the humanitarian fields. U.S. spokesmen have invested a great deal of effort in misinforming the public as regards the contents of this section. For instance, it would seem that the Final Act contains no mention of cooperation in the field of education. Perhaps the reason is that, as Americans themselves testify, literacy in the United States is a relative concept. The prominent literary critic and author of textbooks on literature, Yale University professor Cleanth Brooks, for instance, has observed that "in important respects we are an illiterate nation. A large section of our population cannot read at all and many of those who can read do not read books." According to the U.S. National Institute of Education, 27 million Americans can neither read nor write, and another 45 million are practically illiterate.

With a considerable part of the population illiterate, it is easier to hold forth about human rights, all the more so since it is the rights of this section of the population that are violated most flagrantly.

To divert the attention of the public from America's problems in the humanitarian sphere, the White House concentrates its propaganda efforts on the situation in other countries, using every possible means for this purpose—lies, distortion of the truth, and juggling with facts. A huge government and propaganda machine is engaged in this.

There is no objective information available in the United States about cooperation within the framework of the Final Act, and the Act itself was published in a very small edition. But there is no dearth of specially prepared materials about the human rights situation in other countries. Every year the State Department sends a volume of such information running to about 1,500 pages to Congress. Besides, every six months the President sends reports to the Congressional Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe. Although 33 European countries, the United States and Canada are involved in the Helsinki process, these presidential reports contain no information on Western Europe, not to speak of the United States and Canada.

Curious, too, is the absence in these reports of any mention of the most important problems that occupy the minds of people in all countries—the situation as regards the right to life, the right to work and its guarantees, the right to social security and many other civil, social, economic, political and cultural rights.

Contrary to the spirit and letter of the Final Act, official American spokesmen do not give a frank account of the human rights situation in their own country. And this despite the abundance of authoritative opinions voiced on this score. Here is a quotation from the draft of a Pastoral Letter of American Catholic Bishops. "Hunger persists in our country, as our church-sponsored soup kitchens testify. Far too many people are homeless and must seek refuge from the cold in our church basements. As pastors we know the despair that can devastate individuals, families and whole communities when the plague of unemployment strikes. Inadequate funding for education puts a high mortgage on our economic future. Racial discrimination has devastating effects on the economic well-being of minorities. Inequality in employment opportunity, low wages for women and lack of sufficient child care services can undermine family life."

Nevertheless, the U.S. ruling quarters disclaim responsibility for the fate of millions of their compatriots and seek to accustom the public to the idea that a large number of people are superfluous and a burden on society.

U.S. Assistant Secretary of State Richard Schifter recently said that there are 6 million illegal immigrants in the United States. It would be more correct to say that there are in the country 6 million unfortunates from Latin American and other countries who have been denied the most elementary rights and are subjected to the most ruthless exploitation.

In the same statement Schifter said that 15 per cent of the population are below the poverty line set by the U.S. government.

An idea of how difficult it is to fight for civil rights in the United States is afforded by this statement by civil rights leader Jesse Jackson: "I received 311 death threats in the [presidential election] campaign—more than any candidate in American history."

The U.S. propaganda and special services export the cult of violence and hatred to other countries and are waging a campaign against peace organizations, which are working ever more actively to rid the planet of nuclear weapons and other means of mass destruction.

At the same time the need for an exchange of truthful information between countries and a better knowledge of each other's life is making itself increasingly felt. Exchange of objective unbiassed information could contribute to the growth of trust between peoples, whereas slander and lies poison international relations.

Achievement of the objectives formulated in the Final Act is inseparable from the situation in Europe. Improvement of that situation could make it easier to resolve humanitarian and other problems.

The Final Act has become an integral part of the political life of Europe, and with the urgent need to bring about a sharp turn towards the policy of peace and to inject new life into détente now on the order of the day, its significance is steadily increasing.

The rebuilding of détente depends on the attitude taken by all the participants in the all-European process to their own political commitments. European public opinion expects Washington, which has struck so many blows at détente, to change its policy and actions in the international arena in conformity with the imperatives, the new realities of the time.

**S. ROZHKOV**

**"The communist movement in the non-socialist part of the world remains the principal target of political pressure and harassment by reactionary circles of the bourgeoisie.... Many parties operate underground, in a situation of unmitigated persecution and repression. Every step the Communists take calls for struggle and personal courage."**

**From the Political Report of the Central Committee to the 27th Congress of the CPSU**

# THE STORY OF A TRIPLE MURDER

ALEXANDER BARYSHEV

**Chileans are again pouring into the streets to protest against the crimes of the fascist dictatorship. The latest mass demonstrations have been in memory of patriots savagely murdered a year ago. The Chilean Human Rights Commission, established six years ago and headed by the prominent Christian Democrat Jaime Castillo, registered 15,000 killings prior to 1985 and admits that it has been unable to keep track of them all. From various reports and testimony of witnesses it is clear that the total killed by Pinochet's henchmen runs into the tens of thousands. More than 500,000 have been sent to concentration camps and 2,500 are reported "missing."**

**The Chilean fascists' terror campaign has been spearheaded primarily against the Communist Party, which immediately after the coup of 1973 became the vanguard of the resistance. One out of every four killed outright or tortured to death was a Communist. Here is the story of three of them.**

**The bodies of José Manuel Parada, an employee of the legal department of the Vicariate of Solidarity, Manuel Guerrero Ceballos, chairman of the Santiago council of the Chilean Teachers' Association, and Santiago Nattino Allende, an artist, were found opposite the El Retiro estate on the road to Quilicura yesterday. All three had their throats cut.**

From the newspaper
El Mercurio, March 31, 1985

## The Crime

For José Manuel Parada and Manuel Guerrero the tragic day began as usual. In the morning of March 29 they set out to take their children to the Latin American College at 1401 Leones Avenue, Santiago. Outside the entrance to the school they were attacked by three unmasked men in civilian clothes armed with submachine guns. Leopoldo Muñoz, leader of the Teachers' Association local at the college, rushed to the aid of the two and was cut down by a burst of gunfire. Seriously wounded in the stomach, he fell. Two Carabineros posted some 200 metres away paid no attention. Traffic had been stopped on the street in front of the college just before Parada and Guerrero were seized.

Shortly before the abduction, a Carabinero Corps helicopter took off from the Tobalaba airfield in the environs of Santiago. It was piloted by Captain Aníbal Carreño Nachar and Lieutenant Pedro Ramires Galvez. There were three other persons on board. The helicopter appeared over the college two or three minutes before the attack, and afterwards escorted the beige-coloured Chevrolet van into which Guerrero and Parada had been thrown.

The day before all this happened Santiago Nattino, who had recently undergone a heart operation, left home to keep a 10 a.m. appointment with a doctor on Paris Street. His wife Elena Reyes and their three children expected him to return for lunch. But he did not come. Fearing the worst, Elena phoned the police and the Carabineros. She was told that no one had arrested her husband and that the police had no record of his having been involved in a traffic accident.

Later it transpired that Nattino had been seized by plainclothesmen on the busy Apoquindo Street in the centre of Santiago. According to his neighbour who witnessed the assault, the men said they were from the police, but did not produce any identification. They pushed Nattino into a car that set off at high speed in violation of traffic regulations.

That evening three cars, a Volkswagen, Peugeot and a Chevrolet, models usually used by the Carabineros, pulled up outside the Teachers' Association printshop at 75 Londres Street. Eight men armed with submachine guns got out, broke into the premises and began a search for Guerrero. The trade union functionaries there were lined up with their faces to the wall and ordered to raise their hands. Money and documents were seized, and the printing equipment and furniture smashed. Monica Araya, Eduardo Osorio, José Tolosa and Alejandro Traverso were blindfolded, thrust into the cars and taken to a building in a remote district on the Pan-American Highway, where they were held until morning. They were beaten and tortured by their captors in an effort to extract information about Guerrero.

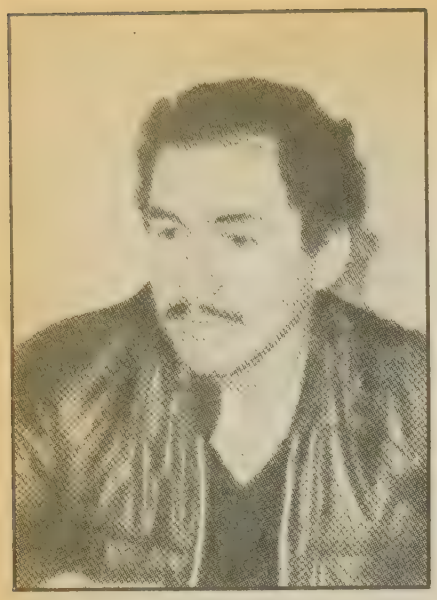
Araya, Traverso and Tolosa were found on March 29 on a country road, more dead than alive, and bearing traces of brutal torture. The next day Osorio was found and taken to hospital with serious injuries.

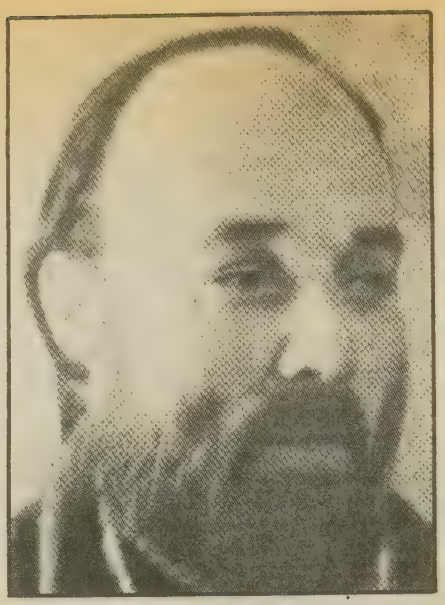
Several hours after the abduction at the Latin American College, the Teachers' Association lodged an official complaint with the authorities about the abduction and demanded an explanation.

On March 30 the bodies of Parada, Guerrero and Nattino were found by two peasants, the brothers Nelson and José Ruiz, in Pudahuel, a northern district of the capital.

## The Victims

What is the explanation for the brutal murder of Manuel Guerrero, José Parada and Santiago Nattino? Their background provides the answer. They were all members of the Communist Party of Chile.





**The Communists, Manuel Guerrero, José Manuel Parada and Santiago Nattino, who were brutally murdered by the Chilean secret police.**

Photos from the magazine Analisis (Chile)

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Guerrero was also an active member of the Teachers' Association.

Guerrero's name is known not only in Chile, but far beyond its boundaries. His whole life was dedicated to the fight for justice. A former political prisoner, he had gone through three concentration camps and was one of the few surviving leaders of the Communist youth organization. In 1976 the Pinochet authorities forced him to leave the country. Seven years later, two years before his death, he returned and resumed the struggle, becoming one of the leaders of the Teachers' Association. In October 1984 he was elected chairman of the Santiago branch of the association.

Guerrero's life had been in constant danger even before this. Now the authorities were in a frenzy. On November 16, 1984, Minister of the Interior Sergio Jarpa ordered his arrest together with 22 other functionaries of the left opposition Popular Democratic Movement.

Guerrero was in hiding for four months. Time and again sleuths raided his home and the apartments where he was believed to be in hiding. Public protest against the actions of the authorities, condemnation by the International Federation of Teachers' Unions of the persecution of Guerrero, and the appeal filed by the leadership of the Chilean Teachers' Association with the Santiago Court of Appeals, forced the dictatorship to annul its order for his arrest in late February 1985.

Sociologist José Parada, who shared the terrible fate of Guerrero, had been his friend since 1974. A member of the Peace Committee, he worked for the Santiago archbishopric and later for the Vicariate of Solidarity, a Catholic human rights organization. He had many friends in church circles and had connections with various religious organizations both in Chile and abroad.

The third victim, Santiago Nattino, was a well-known artist and journalist. He joined the Communist Party of Chile 12 years ago and placed his talents wholly at the service of the Party.

After the appeals addressed to the Ministry of the Interior by the relatives of the murdered men and by the Vicariate of Solidarity, the commander of the Santiago garrison, General Samuel Rojas, who was also the military prosecutor, turned the case over to the civil courts. On April 1 the Supreme Court ordered the president of one of the chambers of the Santiago Court of Appeals, José Canovas Robles, to take charge of the investigation.

## The Investigator

Canovas, an experienced judge, was not considered to hold left views. At the same time, as Le Monde said, he had a reputation in his country of being an "honest, persevering and, most important, courageous man." He realized that the case was a political one. He suspected that the killers, who had operated under martial law, enjoyed patronage in high places.

Nevertheless, Canovas set out to find not only the direct perpetrators and organizers of the brutal murders, but also those behind them. He interrogated witnesses, and on the basis of voluminous testimony identikit portraits of the three kidnappers of Guerrero and Parada were worked out. Published in the press, these pictures helped to pick up the trail of the criminals. Later the police investigators collected the necessary initial data and submitted them to Canovas. After this, much to the surprise of the authorities, Canovas charged 14 Carabineros with kidnapping and murder. Three of them were arrested, among them Luis Fontaine, the chief of the security service of the Carabinero Corps.

Before long the connection between the kidnapping of Araya, Osorio, Traverso, and Tolosa on March 28 and the seizure of Guerrero and Parada outside the Latin American College on March 29 was established. The first reports linking the two crimes were published in the newspaper La Segunda on April 11, twelve days after the bodies of the murdered Communists were found. It was also revealed that the abductors and killers were members of a special operations group of a subdivision of the Carabineros that had been set up ostensibly to combat drug trafficking but in reality to organize political murders. Canovas also established that Carabinero Corps helicopters had been involved in the abduction of Guerrero and Parada.

## The Secret of DICOMCAR

The meticulous investigations conducted by Canovas and his subordinates lifted the veil on a system of interconnected espionage and punitive agencies of the Pinochet dictatorship. A special place among them is occupied by the Carabinero Corps.

The corps was set up about 60 years ago to perform police functions. "Today mere mention of the Carabineros is enough to cause many people to shudder with disgust and even hatred," the Mensaje, organ of the Chilean Catholic

Church, observed. "It is now a well-trained and well-equipped armed force used for suppressing protest actions by Chileans."

In addition to 40,000 officers and men in uniform, the corps consists of a large number of plainclothes secret agents. "The latter do not wear uniform and officially do not exist," the French weekly L'Evénement du Jeudi wrote. "They are something in the order of the 'death squads' and hence are particularly dangerous. They shoot to kill and kill to sow fear."

In beginning the investigation, Canovas made a point of asking the police services, the Carabinero Corps and the Ministry of Defence for any information available to them about operations groups that might possibly have something to do with the murder and kidnapping of the Teachers' Association

**José Canovas Robles, the judge who, despite threats, had the courage to issue a challenge to the fascist authorities and to spotlight the killers and those behind them.**
Photo from El Mercurio (Chile)

functionaries. All these institutions replied in written form, categorically denying any possibility of the involvement of their personnel in the crimes under investigation.

However, in early May the Centre for National Information (CNI), Chile's main intelligence agency (it is formally under the jurisdiction of the land forces, air force and navy but is actually subordinate solely to Pinochet and coordinates the operations of all the security agencies), sent Canovas a confidential report to the effect that the responsibility for the kidnappings and triple murder rested with the Carabineros. Specifically, with the Information and Communications Administration of the Carabineros (DICOMCAR) and its specialized subdivisions. The Chileans learned of the existence of this top-secret security service only in 1984, when a former CNI agent, Andres Valenzuela, made public revelations to the press in Caracas. He disappeared soon afterwards, and, according to some sources, he is still in hiding somewhere in France to escape revenge by his former employers.

The above report stated that the kidnappers had held their victims in a building on 18th Street which belonged to the Carabineros and was known as La Firma. According to Valenzuela, it had earlier too been used in the kidnapping and murder of Communists.

The CNI report confirmed that the cars in which the abducted men had been whisked away belonged to the Carabineros. Besides, the names were given of those directly or indirectly involved in the kidnappings and killings. All this information corroborated the data already uncovered by Canovas: that 14 Carabineros had taken part, on orders from the DICOMCAR command, specifically colonels Luis Fontaine and Julio Muñoz who had planned the participation of the special operations group and the Carabinero Corps helicopter, in the abduction outside the Latin American College.

The publication of the report in the press sparked off a major scandal which caused a crisis in the top echelon of the Chilean machine of coercion. It was obviously not enough to arrest those directly guilty of the crime. To hush up the scandal, Carabineros chief, General Cesar Mendoza, had to be removed from the junta and retired at once, in spite of his intimacy with Pinochet, whose most secret and most unsavoury orders he had faithfully carried out for 12 years. Incidentally, Mendoza insisted to the last that the Carabineros had nothing to do with the murder of Parada, Guerrero and Nattino. Five other generals and 17 colonels were removed from their posts. Rodolfo Stange, Mendoza's former deputy and now his successor, issued orders to reorganize the Carabinero Corps and disband DICOMCAR.

Why did CNI decide to sacrifice the Carabineros and why did the top fascist rulers not only allow it to do so but removed Mendoza? What did the two repressive agencies have against each other? In the first place a scapegoat had to be found in order to provide an alibi for Pinochet who was making a show of "liberalizing" his regime. The fact that the responsibility for the crimes of the Carabineros lay, in the final analysis, on the dictator's government and on himself personally had to be concealed at all costs.

At the same time, once the investigation of such an ugly crime had been started, the arch-hangman decided to use the case to demonstrate his dedication to "legality and justice." Not because he had repented and decided to reform. Certainly not. Pinochet was simply carrying out White House orders. While fully supporting the dictator, his patrons wanted him to make a liberal gesture in order to neutralize the bourgeois opposition in Chile. It was hoped that this show of liberalization would silence criticism in the U.S. Congress of the Chilean dictatorship's excesses. The investigation in Chile of the murders of Parada, Guerrero and Nattino provided the Reagan Administration with a new expedient for manipulating Congressmen and deceiving the U.S. public with a view to obtaining additional appropriations for Pinochet. After all, the money was intended for a country whose leader was punishing those guilty of gross violations of human rights.

As regards the interdepartmental war CNI declared on DICOMCAR, it should

**Chilean military attaché in South Africa Roberto Fuentes Morrison, who masterminded the triple murder.**
Photo from the journal Hoy (Chile)

be borne in mind that there was mounting disquiet among the leaders of the Chilean regime about the increasing rivalry between the special services. The striving of the Carabineros to break away from control from above was also a cause of dissatisfaction in high places. Besides which, in view of the growing opposition movement in the country, the leadership of the Centre for National Information is trying to dissociate itself from the most odious cases of torture and murder.

## Rogues' Gallery

The acute internal crisis gripping the Chilean machinery of coercion, the hid-

den war between different spy and repressive services also found reflection in the Canovas investigation. In the gallery of scoundrels involved at various times in illegal arrests, kidnapping, torture and murder a key place is occupied by Chilean military attaché in South Africa Roberto Fuentes Morrison. Legal experts noted that the three Communists were killed after the "South African pattern." "In Chile this method of cutting the victim's throat has been carried to perfection," Le Monde observed. "It was used three years ago to 'eliminate' the trade union leader Tucapel Jimenez." It is indicative that some Chilean police officials were trained in Pretoria by experts in torture methods.

The career of Morrison, code-named Wally, is also not without interest. It began before the fascist coup, when, as a member of the right-wing extremist bandit group Patria y Libertad, he took part in armed action against the Popular Unity government. Morrison was also involved in the killing of Generals Schneider and Prats, both of whom were loyal to President Allende.

After the fascist putsch, Morrison became chief of security at the Ministry of Agriculture and then was given a top post in the Air Force Intelligence Administration (DIFA). This intelligence and counterintelligence agency was notorious for using the most refined methods of torture. Morrison himself tortured people in the basement of the Air Force Academy.

With the establishment of the predecessor of CNI, the National Intelligence Department*, DIFA was abolished, only to be replaced in 1974 by another punitive body known as the Joint Command, the purpose of which was to destroy the Communist Party. Wally joined its staff at once together with his former Patria y Libertad cronies, the cutthroats Luti, Yerco and Patan.

The 25-man Joint Command, which became what is perhaps the most secret of all the agencies of coercion, represented all the arms of the service. The air force group was headed by Morrison, who also had charge of the special operations group. The representatives of the Carabineros (who in Chile are considered an arm of the service) were headed by Manuel Agustin Muñoz, code-named Lolo.

In an attempt to humanize Wally's image, his brother Sergio Morrison once told newsmen: "He loves his wife, his children and his parents. He has a dog to which he is attached as to his own child. He adores animals." It was this big-hearted gent who, according to the testimony of Valenzuela, was personally in charge of the detail which loaded 15 political prisoners on board a helicopter bound from Santiago to San Antonio, and when the helicopter was flying over the ocean, they knifed them and threw them overboard. No less revolting are the crimes committed by other DICOMCAR men—the colonels Luis Fontaine, and Julio Muñoz, captains Hector Diaz and Patricio Zamora, and junior officers Luis Jofré, and Ivan Zuñiga. The hands of all of them are dripping with blood. Each of them has on his conscience hundreds of killed, tortured to death and missing. Working hand in hand with them were civilian scoundrels, provocateurs and traitors. One of these was Miguel Estay Reyno who was directly involved in the killing of Guerrero, Parada and Nattino. He was known in the secret police by the code name Fanta. He knew the three men personally, had wormed his way into their confidence and at one time had penetrated the Communist youth organization. He was recruited in 1975, first as a spy for DIFA and then for the Carabinero special service.

**The traitor and informer Miguel Estay Reyno, trying to hide his face from news photographers.**

Photo from La Tercera (Chile)

## Pinochet, the Main Killer

After four months of intensive labours, the interrogation of more than 100 witnesses, the study of hundreds of documents and the findings of dozens of experts, Canovas established who had kidnapped Guerrero, Parada and Nattino, who killed them, and who organized the crime. He did his utmost to see to it that justice was done. He spared no effort to get at the truth. It must be said that this is not the standard practice of Chilean justice. Most judges refuse to investigate such cases on the plea of lack of evidence and, fearing to uncover secret torture centres, hasten to declare themselves incompetent.

Canovas too did not carry the investigation to the end. He held that, since the crimes had been committed by members of the armed forces, the case should be heard by a military court. However, it must be said that, while pleading not competent to hear the case, Canovas had the courage to declare openly that the Carabineros, and specifically the DICOMCAR, were guilty. And for the first time an official frankly and publicly stated: "This country has a repressive state system which uses the numerous personnel and substantial material resources at its disposal for punitive operations against the opposition."

Of course, Canovas' decision to plead "incompetence" was in no small measure due to the threats levelled against him while the investigation was in progress. Day after day he received threatening letters. The authorities constantly put obstacles in his way.

Commenting on Canovas' withdrawal from the case, Parada's widow Estella Ortiz de Parada said: "We have no faith at all in the military courts. They are made up of servicemen who for 12 years have been engaged in repressions. Clearly we have always been right in saying that the Carabineros must be called to account for everything. Pinochet, too, must be called to account."

**As it turned out, however, the military legal authorities, too, were unwilling to take up such an unsavoury case and preferred to pass it back to Canovas. They had no difficulty in finding an excuse for doing so. The victims were not servicemen, it was argued. And as for the 14 defendants, they had been discharged from the army for being under investigation. Hence the case should be heard by a civil court.**

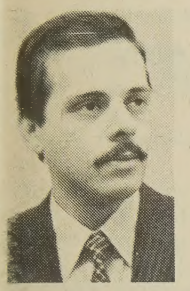
**After Canovas rejected these "arguments" and again refused to carry the case of the killing of Parada, Guerrero and Nattino to the end, the Supreme Court took over. Cancelling out the enormous work done by the investigators, it ordered the case dismissed and the defendants released for "lack of evidence." Pinochet-type justice was done!**

* Known as DINA for short, it was set up in 1974. In 1978, after the scandalous exposure of the complicity of its chief, Manuel Contreras, in the assassination in the United States of Orlando Letelier, Minister of Foreign Affairs and Defence in the Popular Unity government, it was reconstituted as CNI.

# TAKING UP A POINT

**Despite all your arguments I still believe in the Strategic Defence Initiative put forward by the U.S. President, for it is practically impossible to break through space defences. All your threats to take effective and inexpensive countermeasures, somewhat vague, incidentally, are, in my opinion, no more than a bluff. In fact, the Soviet Union has nothing to counterpose to the Strategic Defence Initiative.**

**Harald KINSEL**
Dortmund, Federal Republic of Germany



**Our staff writer NIKITA ZHOLKVER replies:**

Since you are an earnest supporter of the Strategic Defence Initiative I shall not waste time attempting to prove that it is based on a false premise and should be abandoned. I shall only try to explain what countermeasures the Soviet Union would be able to take were SDI put into effect. But let me first make two observations.

Implementation of the SDI project will clearly give a further twist to the arms race. But it should be quite plain that this is not of our choosing and that it is not the Soviet Union that will go down in history as the country which initiated the militarization of outer space. Furthermore, in my view, SDI is not a constant like, for instance, the standard metre or kilogramme, which never change regardless of who uses them. President Reagan believes, perhaps sincerely, that SDI will defuse the nuclear mine that could blow up our planet. For Defence Secretary Weinberger, SDI is a kind of big stick, a means of wrecking any agreement with the Soviet Union. The American "new right" see in SDI the possibility of draining the Soviet Union of its resources and ruining it economically in the course of the arms race. The corporations engaged in arms manufacture do not care much to know what is said about SDI, for they are only interested in profit. The Pentagon strategists hope that SDI will enable them to build a space umbrella for protection against a retaliatory blow. And, lastly, your Chancellor probably hopes that, with the aid of SDI, the Federal Republic will be able to overcome its "nuclear inferiority complex" and gain access to new types of strategic weapon. It is not clear from your short letter what variant of SDI you would choose. But I imagine you would like a combination of the last two.

And now about the countermeasures the Soviet Union is likely to take. Laser stations in orbit for military purposes can be wrecked quite easily. Since they are intended chiefly for destroying strategic ballistic missiles, they will prove virtually ineffective against specially developed small-size missiles with different basing modes and high thrust loading. The Sprint missile, adopted for service in the Untied States some years ago, has similar properties.

Among other possible countermeasures are satellites filled with explosives, sent into parallel orbits and blown up on ground command, or ground-based lasers. It is cheaper and simpler to produce lasers on earth than in outer space. Besides, the targets—stations put by the enemy into orbit for miltiary purposes—are larger than ballistic missiles. Space platforms are fewer, and they remain in the field of vision for quite a long time. This means that the beam need not be redirected quickly, and there will be enough time to aim carefully. The beam can therefore be less powerful.

Nor is it possible to protect a space platform from a cloud of small particles moving towards it at high speed. A particle weighing 30 grams and flying at a speed of 15 kilometres per second can pierce a steel shell 15 centimetres thick.

I have mentioned only a few of the means of destroying the components of a space-based anti-missile defence. It is not even necessary to annihilate all the components: a small breach in this defence will be enough to deal the enemy a crushing blow.

The upgrading and buildup of the strategic arsenal are other possible countermeasures. They would be in violation of existing strategic arms limitation treaties, but, I stress, in forced violation. Such measures include, firstly, an increase in the number of intercontinental ballistic missiles and dummy missiles. This will create more difficulties for the detection systems of space-based anti-missile defence, lower the effectiveness of interception and, accordingly, enhance the penetrating capability of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

Another means of maintaining the possibility of delivering a retaliatory knock-out strike is to increase the potential of weapons which it is not yet possible to intercept. I have in mind submarine-based ballistic missiles launched on flat trajectories, or cruise missiles with different modes of basing. None of the proposed variants of the space shield guarantees the detection and interception of these weapons.

I would also like to mention countermeasures that will protect intercontinental ballistic missiles from being hit by the laser beam. One of them is changing the intensity and configuration of the missile-engine flame, for this is the source of infrared radiation by which the laser beam is guided onto the rocket body. If the intensity and configuration of the flame are altered, and that can easily be done with the aid of propellant additives, it will become virtually impossible to guide the beam onto a rocket and fix it on the rocket body. There are also various methods of protecting the rocket body from the effect of the laser beam.

All this is fact, not fiction. The source is the report, "Large-Scale Anti-Missile System and International Security," compiled by the Soviet Scientists' Committee for Peace, Against Nuclear War Threat. I can assure you, that this report was prepared by competent, authoritative people.

Soviet scientists have concluded that space-based anti-missile defence is incapable of ensuring reliable protection from a retaliatory blow. The cost of countermeasures would amount to only a fraction of that of the SDI programme. Incidentally, a similar conclusion has been drawn by Dr Bernard Feld of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and many other American scientists.

I want to end my reply as I began it. An arms race in outer space, laser stations, anti-missiles, countermeasures are not of our choosing. As for the bluff you mentioned in your letter, it is Americans who are bluffing, as in poker. They have a poor hand but they are behaving as if they held a royal flush, oblivious of the fact that it is dangerous to play for high stakes in the nuclear age. ■

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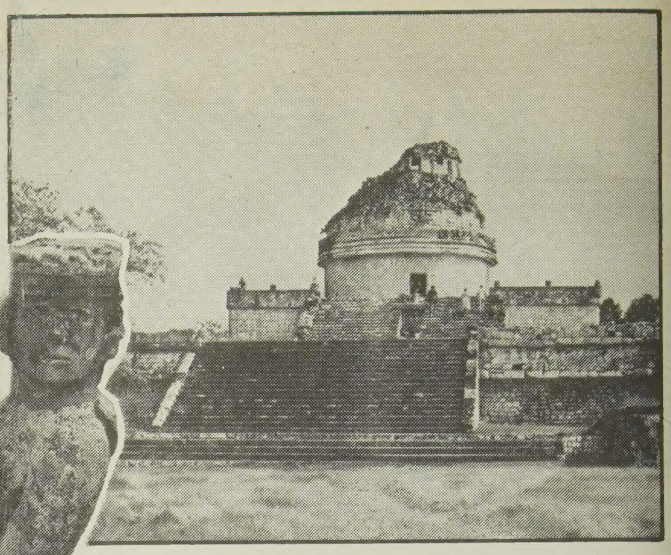

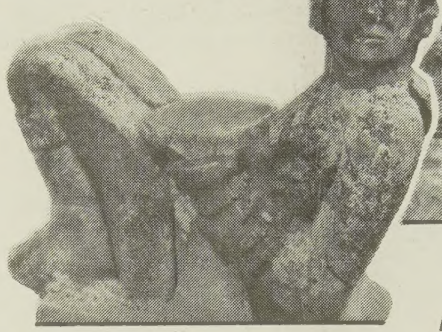

**Ancient Maya observatory. From here the high priests observed the movement of the Sun and Venus and divined by the stars when to begin sowing and when to harvest the crop. This sculpture of Chac Mool, the "messenger of the gods," adorns the entrance to the Temple of Warriors.**

**THE WORLD IN PICTURES**

For the Mexicans spring comes when the magnificent Kukulkan, or Feathered Snake, pyramid, built by the Mayas in the centre of the ancient city of Chichen Itza on the Yucatan peninsula, casts a shadow in the shape of the giant snake the Mayas worshipped as a deity. This happens only once a year, in March. It is an impressive sight that draws tens of thousands of tourists from all parts of Mexico and from abroad.

Staircases lead up to the top of the pyramid on all of its four sides. Each of them has 91 steps, adding up, together with the upper terrace, to 365, the number of days in a year.

From the top of the pyramid which rises 24 metres above ground level, a splendid view opens of the ancient city. Half a kilometre to the south stands a Maya observatory, a round 16-metre-high tower with a spiral staircase that leads to the four openings on top from which the ancient astronomers observed the movement of the Sun and Venus and divined by the stars when to begin sowing and when to bring in the crop. The opening to the West was used to observe the Sun during the vernal and autumnal equinoxes.

A superb specimen of Yucatan Maya architecture is the Temple of Warriors. It was discovered in 1925 by Earl Morris, an American archeologist, who worked in Chichen Itza for many years. He excavated dozens of ruins, but the most important of his finds was this particular structure. It is surrounded by magnificent columns, each with a frieze depicting a man girded for battle. These figures stand as if on guard at the approaches to a pyramid with the tombs of illustrious warriors, in whose honour the unique structure has been named. The treasures found in the pyramid were taken to the United States long ago, except for one, a splendid statue of Chac Mool, the "messenger of the gods," that was left behind for some unknown reason and still adorns the entrance to the temple.

Chichen Itza translates as "on the banks of a lagoon where the Itzas live." The Itzas were a Maya tribe who built their settlements on the shores of bodies of water which also played a part in their religious rites.

The remains of the ancient city stretch for many kilometres into the primeval rain forest. So far nearly 100 structures have been found, but many of the secrets of the Maya pyramids are yet to be brought to light.

**I. SKACHKOVA**

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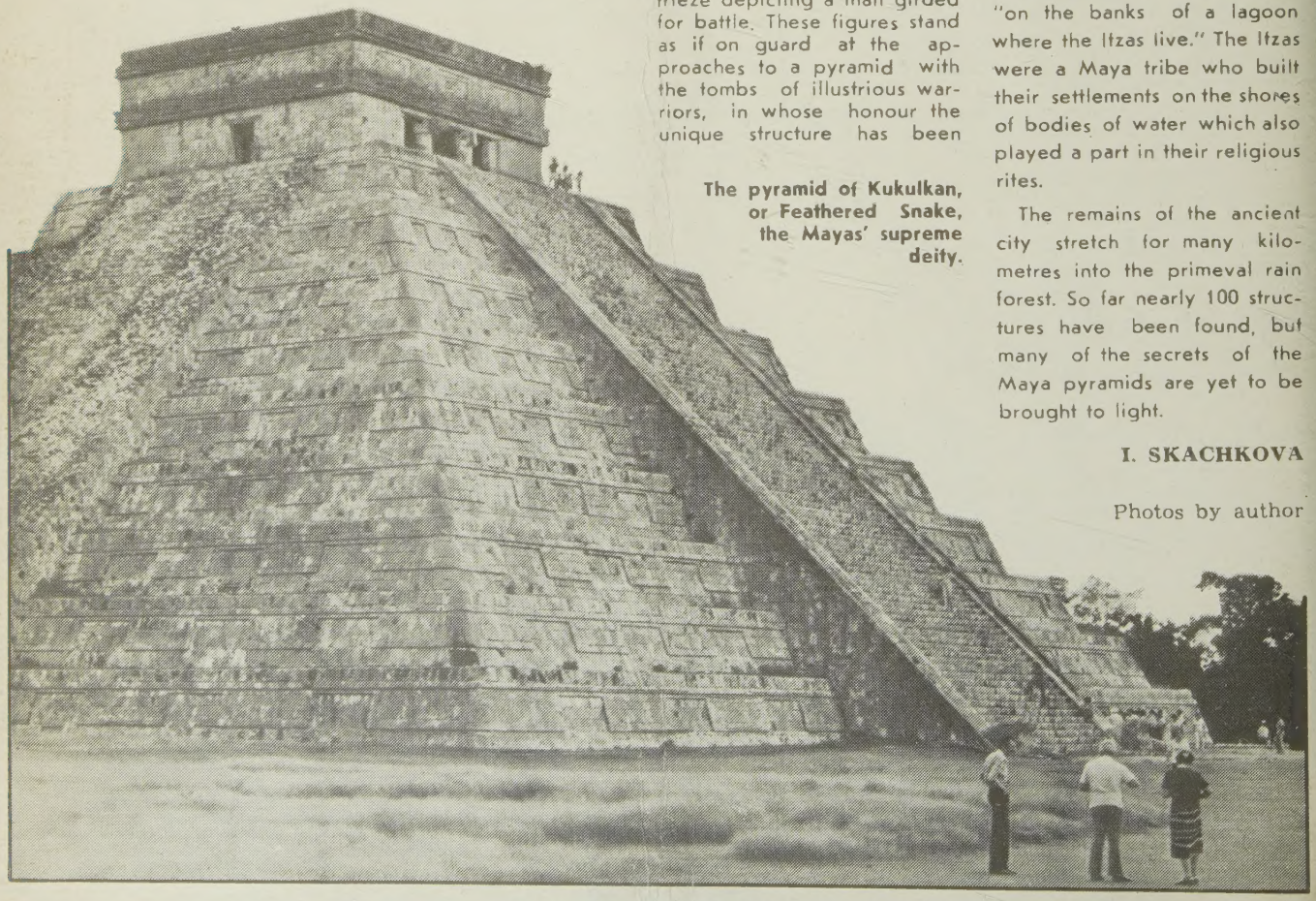

**The pyramid of Kukulkan, or Feathered Snake, the Mayas' supreme deity.**